

SIND QUARTERLY

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Editor-in-Chief

Sayid Ghulam Mustafa Shah

Editor

Dr. Mehdi Hasan Ph.D.

Publisher

Mazhar Yusuf

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A note from the publisher

The aim of the Sind Quarterly is to project the Saga of Sind spanning not mere years or centuries but also millenniums and Ages.

The Sind Quarterly was long overdue. The discovery of Mohenjodaro culture by Sir John Marshall in the early Twenties should then itself have made the children of Sind feel justly proud of themselves as the revelations of Egyptology made the Egyptians understandably proud of their Pharoes and of the Pyramids.

Indeed studies like Indology, Assyriology, Sinology and Egyptology have given a boost to the morale of the respective descendants of these cultures which nothing else would have done.

This is perhaps the most functional and tangible blessing of archaeology.

Undoubtedly the antiquity of Sind and its culture will find its deserved space in the Quarterly. Articles on the antiquity of the Sindhi language, leading to the most recent and successful attempts of the Scandinavian scholars to decipher the so far baffling inscriptions on the Mohenjodaro Seals, will be strongly highlighted in the journal. This decipherment is probably as important as the discovery of the Rossetta stone, the key to Egyptian archaeology and the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the key to the revision of all our ideas about the Middle East and its cultural heritage.

To this end and to chalk out the future course of research in Sindiology we invite contributions from all the known Sindhologists from the world over, particularly from Scandinavian countries, India, Russia and England. We shall also keep in mind the necessity of filling up by reserach certain glaring gaps even in the post-Mohenjodaro of Sind.

What for instance was Sind in the long period following the exit of Alexander and upto the eve of the Arab conquest. Surely it could not be a vacuum or any discontinuity.

The very existance of the Chachnama, originally written by an Arab, is a positive proof that he had had his information from records which are lost or most probably destroyed.

So a pioneering attempt should now be made to unearth knowledge to illuminate these lost centuries.

Mazhar Yusuf

Editorial

By Sayid Ghulam Mustafa Shah

About two years ago a few friends gathered together and decided that a Sind Cultural and Literary Society be established at Karachi. The need for such a Society to portray Sind in its real perspective—historical, political, social, economic, literary, cultural and religious was very great. No such society existed in Karachi—though Karachi was now the part and parcel and the capital of Sind as of old. We all thought that with increasing interest, both intelligent and popular, in Sind history and literature and with the functioning of new legal and constitutional institutions the establishment of such a society was imperative. A few of us met and we were able to give shape to our thinking and sentiments by the establishment of Shah Abdul Latif Cultural Society at Karachi. We all thought it a pity that the capital of the province was without such a society for so long.

There was a body once in Karachi called the Sind Historical Society, and we had a predecessor in what was called the "Sind Historical Journal" established by that society. There were fine men and great scholars associated with this society and with its journal like Mr. E. Billimoria and Dr. U. M. Daudpota who will always be remembered.

After we had established the society and registered it, the Government of Sind too came to our assistance and we were honoured by the Chief Minister of Sind in inaugurating the society's first programme of seminar, music and mushairah. It was a task we undertook with any amount of trepidation, but we are glad we succeeded beyond measure.

Having held this varied programme in which so many scholarly and original papers were produced and read, and having moved the minds of men in this direction we had no in-

inclination to sit back and relapse into in-activity. From the very beginning we did not want to be a society of mellas, jashans or a society for periodical oral and dietary entertainment. We were resolved to undertake literary and research work and to disseminate the spirit of Sind and its history, which was our main purpose in the establishment of the society. We wanted to inform every body about the institutions and heritage of which Sind was proud, and emphasise its place in the polity of Pakistan. This journal was our real objective. Every thing else was subsidiary.

The Government of Sind had gone into a state of inertia after a short period of activity. This province had to have an atmosphere of peace, goodwill, unity and understanding as before 1947. If the Governments relax, prevaricate, and become indecisive, it is the duty of the community to help itself. This is what we did. We have aimed at the conception of a new Sind in this new Pakistan.

Very soon, cautiously but sincerely, Government of Sind too, realised its duty to the community, and their responsibility for the encouragement of the study of history and culture of Sind, and their duty to patronise its arts and crafts, and they announced the programme of "Sind through the Centuries"—a brave and commendable effort indeed. This programme is only partly what Shah Abdul Latif Society stands for. We hope "Sind through the Centuries" celebrations will not be merely a spasmodic and convulsive effort but it will be a sustained one. We hope a programme of this nature will be a recurring feature and repeated at least every three years. We hope it will make the Government of Sind and the Government of Pakistan conscious of their responsibilities to the culture, history, heritage and future of Sind. What the Government should have done three years ago, we are glad they are beginning to realise now. We congratulate them and hope that this programme will mean the beginning of a real brave cultural and social commitment of the Government of Sind; and the city of Karachi will have a well-planned cultural complex, commensurate with the richness of the history of Sind, greatness of its institutions and hopes in its future. We hope such plans will be announced at the end of this programme.

We do not want to boast but we do acknowledge that this journal has been started with certain commitments to Sind and its Society. We want to write, pursue, and propagate truth about the history, traditions and aspirations of Sind. It is to this extent a journal with a message and it is committed to that message. It is a journal of views and we want to keep it as a publication of standard, authenticity and authority. It will be our endeavour to keep this aim and carry our message forward.

Nothing has been sinned against more than Sind itself and the sinners have got away so cheaply. Not a few sons of the soil have played their part in this game from 1948. These twenty three years constituted a dark period in the destiny of Sind and it is the sons of the soil who brought to it the biggest misfortunes. In Pakistan we lived these 23 years of false political life and wrote bad history and we are still involved in this habit and doing it. The role of Sind in the establishment of Pakistan was either underrated or ignored or positively belittled and even abused. Sind was the pivot of Pakistan. History has shown it in the past and it will still prove it in the future. Never in history was a small but proud and sincere and contented community subjected to such innuendoes, indignities and ingratitude by national governments and their men. Those who harmed Sind never stopped hating it.

قُلْ إِنَّ الْمَوْتَ الَّذِي تَفِرُّونَ
مِنْهُ فَإِنَّهُ مُلْقِيكُمْ ثُمَّ تُرَدُّونَ
إِلَى عَالِمِ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ
فَيُنَبِّئُكُمْ بِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ ۝

To that extent this is not purely a historical journal commensurate with what it stands for all views on all topics concerning Sind are welcome be they about its past, present or future. We shall not apply the scissors. We shall not want conformity or constraint, but we do want honesty and standard. We want institutional discussion and no personal invective.

This is not a political journal, but as a journal of social and cultural problems and as a journal of views on the affairs and fortunes of the community, it will have no hesitation to the acceptance of essays and articles on current issues, political, constitutional and legal. But this journal does consider certain matters sacrosanct. We shall certainly not generate controversies but we shall not reject anything which is debateable. We shall welcome information and research and sentiments which will give the real place and part of Sind in Pakistan—in short this journal stands for all that is incorporated in the conception of "Sind, past and present".

Pakistan had the unique and supreme distinction of being created by sincere and ebullient enthusiasm of its people, but the collapse was so sudden and great. In little more than a year, the rot began and very soon the country became politically and socially sick. Political and social sickness is always accompanied by intellectual and religious sickness. In Pakistan all stays had fallen asunder. The country began to live in the balse miasma of catch-phrases and sham slogans. There were already no giants in the public life of Pakistan but now the pygmies began to rule. The Government became a conglomeration of Daftaries and Hussars and young Turks. On the firmament of Pakistan was written, prominently and indelibly, the word "GRAB"—for property, money and power.

History has its own mysteries and mystifications. Its theories and processes are governed by laws which are divine and in-exorable. In Sind, history had repeated itself and in Pakistan it had punished falsification. Nature has its own ways and means of rectifying wrongs. Pakistan's history presents an instance of the failure of man to frustrate nature. If blood was the price of intrigues and hypocrisy, in Pakistan we have paid it in full.

There has been colossal ignorance prevailing about Sind not only in Pakistan but in Sind itself. During my years of service and sojourns in life, throughout the country or outside. I have come across not only prejudice but some times even hostility to Sind for no rhyme and reason. Virtues of history, society and economy of Sind appear to be its biggest weakness. During more than 25 years Sind has never been given credit for its opportunities, blessings and sacrifices. Somehow it is an unexceptionable fact that in language and literature and in history and culture Sind enjoyed a unique distinction among the provinces of Pakistan.

In writing about Sind the Englishman had his own bias and ideas of dominium. English writings are characterised by the facts and realities of what Lord Bryce called "the gun powder". The other side of the picture had not been seriously and truly studied or explained.

Before 1947 Sindhi literary writings were steady and dignified and little governed by emotionalism. After 1948 and more so after 1955 Sind was in the throes of emotionalism. Since then, in the literature of Sind, there has been an over-emphasis on political history, politics, folk-lore and anecdotes. Poetry which was mainly amorous prior to 1947 surrendered to materialism, nationalism, sentimentalism and revolutionary fervour. Before 1947 it was the middle or the old age which had control and sway over Sindhi writings, but after 1947 the youth took over. There was marked atavism in all post-independence writings. After 1954 slowly and steadily anger and frustration ruled supreme in Sindhi mind and literature.

Somehow in Urdu, most of the writings on Sind have been superficial and journalistic. It is unfortunate that from 1947 till today, there have been very little serious, steady and balanced writings in Urdu. This phenomenon took away a whole set of writers and scholars to fields in which they wasted their talents and energies. An Urdu writer having lived for a quarter century in Sind still wrote like an "Ajnabi".

The year 1971 was a rude shock to the writers of Urdu. They found the whole edifice of their imagination tottering and

crumbling. They found themselves facing realities which in their socio-economic background they had never educated and prepared themselves to understand. Now adjustment was prudent but difficult, reversal was painful but necessary. From the status of misunderstanding and prejudice, and even positive hostility, it was difficult for Urdu writers to suddenly right-about-turn. They now found themselves victims of their own training, education, hallucinations and phantasmagoria. Urdu writers on Sind were non-plussed and out of date—there had to be a new breed of Urdu writers and it began to appear.

It was English writing on Sind from 1970 onwards which was more realistic, and research on Sind in English began to make valuable contribution on the history, literature and personalities of Sind. There grew up a new generation of writers and scholars who were sympathetic, impartial and balanced. The study of Sindhi history and Sindhi Society, Sindhi literature had acquired a new meaning and significance. Urdu was a problem of economics and stomach and Sindhi too had become so. Instead of writing as a foreigner we found many writing as nationals and scholars. For the first time honest writing on Sind became available in abundance. No wonder the Oxford University Press capitalised on this phenomenon and on the increasing demand for English literature on Sind.

In Sind our over-emphasis on history, archaeology, folk-lore and culture left few scholars to attend to economics, anthropology, geography, Topography and more scientific subjects like agriculture and irrigation. Our lakes, mountains, deserts and plains have still not become understandable to English and Urdu writers. Our flora and fauna have richness which is still not in print.

The province has faced problems of agriculture, engineering, irrigation, economics and trade in which nothing appeared outside and beyond the official reports. Facts which will most certainly bring tremendous repercussions on the living and economic conditions in Sind never saw the light of the day. Most of the officials ceased to be educated when in office, and lacked all education when they retired. There has been complete

apathy and degeneracy in official hierarchy for any love and affection and attachment to writing and literature. There is so much material missing which has to be collected and I am glad some of my friends have information and documents which will not only tell the truth but throw new light on suppressed facts and when published, will fill up the blanks to render the stories, episodes and events complete and comprehensible. It will be the sincere endeavour of this journal to render this service to Sind and to Pakistan.

Muslim history in general and Pakistan history in particular has revolved around personalities and round close and monopolistic groups—secrecy and intrigue ruined the polity of Pakistan. It has been unfortunate that institutional life in our country was neither emphasised nor encouraged and strengthened. That is why we have for all intents and purposes no social history and no political history. This will only mean that any discussion of society, government and economics will mean some discussion on personalities.

Pakistan history has been made by lunatics, mediocrities, drunkards and profligates. That is why our history of 25 years lacks autobiography and bio-graphy in literature. No wonder the verdict of history has been so strongly against us.

From the very beginning in our society if there was deliberate effort to suppress talent, from 1954 it was a society in the grips of survival. No province of Pakistan was subjected to this colossal test and the necessary consequences was total derangement and social aberration.

It will be our endeavour to infuse and advance the spirit of enquiry and research and balanced thinking. This province cannot afford any more false-hood and any more make-belief. Unless this chapter is opened the future may be harder and more cruel than the recent past has been, and the price we have to pay may be greater.

"Sind Quarterly" at the very inception made demands of a serious and embarrassing nature on us. We thank God we have tried to meet them. It was literally an up-hill task, strewn

with frustrating obstacles. Finance was our main worry but it was so satisfying to find hope and encouragement wherever we turned and from who-so-ever we met. We are grateful to all our friends who stood by us. We are glad we were able to generate enthusiasm of which in the beginning even the existence no one suspected. There is so much goodwill, we are positive, on which we can count.

We are grateful to those who have written for us. It is not easy in this intellectually and educationally fast deteriorating society, to find men and women with will, ability, knowledge, competence and sincerity to write on serious subjects employing in the language of requisite dignity, clarity, accuracy and balance. For all of them who have written for us it has been a labour of love. In our present state of strained finances we are helpless, but we hope we shall have, very soon, developed the means to compensation. We launch this journal with great expectations.

The Historical Development of the Sindhi Language: Fresh Evidence from Al-Beruni's Works

By Dr. N. A. Baloch

Sindhi is an ancient language of the Indo-Aryan family. For long it was believed that it was derived from Sanskrit, but modern research has finally discredited the theory that the modern vernaculars of the Hindostan subcontinent including Sindhi, are derived from Sanskrit. For the first time in 1950, I had in a research paper (Prepared for the Seventeenth Sindhi Adabi Conference held at Larkana) assembled evidence to the effect that Sindhi was not derived from Sanskrit. These arguments were further elaborated by me in "The Brief History of Sindhi Language" (Hyderabad, 1961). In conclusion I had stated:

The modern Sindhi is an Indo-Aryan language which developed in the lower Indus Valley of Sindh. It is not derived from Sanskrit but its origin goes back to the proto-Vedic prakrits spoken by the people in the pre-Sanskrit era.

The language represented in the pictographic seals of Moenjodaro belongs to the Pre-Aryan/Pre-vedic times. This was the most developed language of the Indus Valley in the Pre-historic period. It has not yet been deciphered finally, but two presumptions may be recorded: firstly, in view of the fact that similar pictographic seals have been discovered outside the sub-continent, in Mesopotamia, this ancient language of Moenjodaro might have a relationship with the ancient Babylonian/Semetic languages; secondly that since the Moenjodaro city flourished prior to the advent of the Aryans, it Dravidian origin.

However that may be, there is a gap of more than two millennium between the 'language form' represented by the Moenjodaro seals and the earliest possible evidence regarding the existence of the modern Sindhi language. In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to establish a historical link between the 'Ancient Indus Valley Language of Moenjodaro' and The Modern Sindhi Language' as is to us today.

Though references to the country of Sindh and the language of Sindh go back to early times, the more authentic mention of the 'Sindhi Language' (historically related to the present form of Sindhi), Sindhi words, proper names of persons and places in Sindh, and of the forms of Sindhi script and Sindhi numerals date back to 8-10 centuries A. D., with a possible stretch of time extending back to the 5th century A. D. The whole of this record has come down to us as a result of the writings and researches of the early Muslim scholars. Amongst them, Jahiz (d. 912), Ibn Khurdadhbih (868|69), Madaini (circa 850), Masudi (d. 946), Baladhuri (d. 892), Yakubi (d. circa 900), Ibn Hauqal (d. 977), Istakhari (d. circa 955), Ibn al-Nadim (d. 995), Beruni (d. 1051) and Yakut (d. 1229) may be counted as the most distinguished ones who have contributed substantially to our knowledge of history, language and general culture of Sindh up to the mid 13th century A. D. Ibn al-Nadim was the first to write on Sindhi script and the Sindhi numeral forms. But the place of honour goes to Al-Beruni, who has left a wealth of material on history and geography of Sind, Sindhi era, and on Sindhi language and its rich and varied vocabulary, in his two important works, the 'Book on India' and the 'Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica'. The former he wrote in 1030 A. D. and the latter in 1050|51 A. D. Thus, the record on Sindhology left by Al-Beruni is more than 900 years old.

It is from his 'Book on India' that we learn for the first time that in his days (early 11th century), the 'Saindhav Script' (the present Arabic Sindhi script) was current in (the city and province of) Mansurah (7 miles E|S.E. of Shahdadpur). In this voluminous work, Al-Beruni has recorded numerous words from the commonly understood local language (as distinct from Sanskrit). These words, in their meaning and pronunciation, are nearer to the Sindhi words than to the words of any other language¹. Some of these words are

1. Cf. Edward Sachau: *Alberuni's India*, 1910, London, Vol. II: 399 (annotations).

typical of the Sindhi vocabulary current in the rural areas of Sindh to this day. For example,

توھر	tuhar = Sindhi	توھر	(thhuhar) the plant of the species of Lactaria. ²
رامر	ramaru = Sindhi	رامر	(ramarru) a herd of animals. ³
دوب	darba = Sindhi	درب	drabha. ⁴ the common Sindhi grass.

The fresh evidence on the importance of Sindhi language and its rich vocabulary, however, comes from Al-Beruni's "Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica" (*Kitab al-Saidanah fi al-Tibb*). This book contains a copious introduction on pharmacology by the bulk of the text on materia medica in which the names of herbs and things of medical value (simples) are arranged alphabetically and described professionally. So far as the nomenclature is concerned, the name by which a simple was more commonly known at that time in the professional circles is given first, and then its equivalents are listed from different other languages.

Al-Beruni was a linguist of exceptional ability. He knew not only some of the major languages but also the local dialects and the local usages. Thus, he would often add the 'local name' by which a simple was then being called say by the townsmen of Ghaznah, Balkh, or Multan; or by the people of Kirman, Seistan, Saghdiana or Khawarazm. But from the works of the earlier authors which are quoted by Al-Beruni (and his associated al-Nahsha'i), it would appear that the more common practice was to give equivalents particularly from those major languages in which the knowledge of pharmacology and materia medica had advanced, and hence their terminology had acquired an international status among the professional circles. Among such languages were the classical Greek/Roman and Syriac the more modern Arabic and Persian, and the two important languages of Indic origin, viz. the 'Sindhian' (*al-Sindiyyat*) and the 'Indian' (*al-Hindiyyat*). *al-Sindiyyat* was the language of Sind, while *al-Hindiyyat*

2. From which milk flows then torn off. It is found in plenty in the hilly region between Hyderabad and Karachi.

3. The original words are كثرات الحيوان المسمى بامر (K. al-Hind, text, Hyd. Dn., p. 420) which Sachau translated "The Multitude of Animals called bhramara" (II|92). He mistook امر for رمر.

4. Ibid, text p. 453, & Eng. tr. II|130.

yat represented an amalgam of the other Indic tongues, including Sanskrit and the contemporary Provincial media of the 10th/11th century.

In al-Beruni's "Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica", as many as seventy equivalents from Sindhi and double that number from the 'Indian' are cited. This indicates that till the mid-eleventh century A. D., Sindhi had acquired a professional status which no other single tongue of any other part of the Sub-continent had achieved.

Though 70 equivalents are specifically noted as **Sindhian**, there are a number of other names which though referred to as 'Indian', are today found to be common to Sindhi and the other Hindustani tongues (particularly in the original Hindi base of Urdu). For example, **Samandar phin** (Sindhi سمنڊ ڦين) **Khaturi** or **Khasturi** (ڪٽوري). **adrak** (ادرڪ), **Sundh** (S. سنڌ), etc. Of the 70 'Sindhian' equivalents, some 4 are cited on the authority of Bishr, while the remaining 27* are the contribution of Al-Beruni himself and others. Bishr b. Abdul Wahhab al-Fazari was a scholar who flourished in the 4th century A. H. He had a specialized knowledge of the pharmacological vocabulary of 'Sindhi', as is evident from quotations from his book "**Tafasir al-Adiyyah**" cited by Al-Beruni. Probably, he himself had been in Sind, because at one place he quotes a name on the authority of the "people of Sind"¹.

The Sindhi equivalents given by Al-Beruni were picked up by him directly from the native speakers of Multan and Mansurah. Under (زيتون) and (طلخشفوقم), he quotes the names which were used by the people of Multan. Under (كروه), he quotes an apothecary of Multan. Under (الغضف), he says that "the people of al-Mansurah told him.....", a reference which strongly suggests that Al-Beruni had been in Sindh.

* These counts are based on my study of the manuscripts of *Kitab al-Saidanah*, particularly the oldest one (originally of the lu Oglu collection now preserved in the Public Library of Bursa (Turkey). The book has now been published by the Hamdard National Foundation. Pakistan (Karachi 1973) and is available for a more detailed study.

1. See *Kitab al-Saidanah* under (سامقيل). Referring to a kind of wild onion, Bishr says "the people of Sindh call it" قويا بصل.

Of the 70 Sindhian equivalents noted in **Kitab al-Saidanah** some have gone out of vogue since Al-Beruni wrote, due to the decline in the practice of Pharmacy and Materia Medica in Sindh during the following centuries. As such, they are not obtained in the current Sindhi vocabulary. Some, though still a part of the professional vocabulary, cannot be identified due to the technical nature of the terminology. A number of words can, however, be identified as being current in Sindhi to this day (e.g. جواڻ سنگ ليمو etc.).

Some of the 'word forms' suggest generalization which are relevant to the development of Sindhi through the past centuries. For example:

- a. In Al-Beruni's times (i.e. nine centuries back), and as is now, though some words were common to both Sindhi and Hindustani vocabularies, in some cases the same word was used for two different things. For instance, the Sindhi for زرايع was هڙتال (as it is now), but the contemporary Indian word was then used for زنجار.
- b. At one place a Sindhi equivalent, recorded on Bishr's authority, is " جا ما ها ". The current pronunciation in the same form will be ڊراماها (from ڊراماهو). If Bishr had given the pronunciation correctly, it may be presumed that the pronunciation of some Sindhi words have changed since the 10th century A. D.
- c. Under (ڪمون), Al-Beruni explains that it is originally a Greek|Syriac word, and that in the 'Indian' it is called " جيره ". He also quotes Bishr who, however, says that in the 'Indian' it is called " اجاحي " while in Sindhi it is called " جيرو ". This suggests that even one thousand years back (as today), a class of masculine nouns in Sindhi terminated in the long vowel o.
- d. Under (آزاد درخت), Al-Beruni quotes Bishr who says that the Sindhi word for this tree is " لمر (sic.). At present, the standard pronunciation is نمر, but in many rural areas (particularly in the Upper Dadu and the Upper

1. One original reading is " جيرو ", but it would seem that the alif at the end is due to the mistake on the part of the scribe.

Nawabshah districts, as also in the Larkana district), the tree is still called ' *F* ' This suggests that the original

Sindhi pronunciation was p^h and not p^n .

The latest date for the Sindhi vocabulary which is supplied by Bishr may be fixed approximately as 1000 A. D., i.e. these words were current in Sindhi even prior to 1000 A. D. The latest date for the remaining vocabulary contributed by Al-Beruni (and others) may be fixed half a century later i.e. these words were current in Sindhi prior to 1050 A. D.

Origin of the Indus Civilization

By Gulzar Muhammad Khan

More than 50 years ago, Indus Civilization was properly recognized as a fully urbanized society flourishing in South Asia in the middle of the third millennium B. C. Its discovery goes back to 1856 A. D. when Harappa was plundered by a British Engineer to obtain ballast for the railway track¹ between Lahore and Multan. It was during these depredations that some seals were collected and presented to General Cunningham, who realized that these seals were something quite outside the range of Indian antiquities known to him, he felt they were extremely ancient and important².

Discovery of such a powerful civilization evinced great interest with the scholars not only in its known features, but also in the academic problems presented by it. It was felt that the material evidence and data collected do not enlighten sufficiently on some of the aspects of the life of the people of the Indus Civilization. The problems thought to be unsolved at that time were, as to how this civilization began; what was the religion and ritual practices of its inhabitants; what was the function of the numerous seals and significance of the script engraved on them, and finally, what were the circumstances and factors, leading to its downfall, abandonment, destruction or gradual desertion. All these problems require undivided attention of the scholars working on South Asian archaeology with special reference to Bronze Age.

1. Stuart Piggot, Prehistoric India, Pelican Book 1961, p. 13.

2. Ibid p. 15.

Since it is not within the scope of this writing to touch the other problems enlisted above, the present discussion will be focussed mainly on the problem of origin and other aspects relevant to it. However, it may be stated briefly, that these problems still await to be solved convincingly. The script engraved on seals is un-deciphered so far. The purpose and function of these seals is not understood as yet. We do not know the religious and ritual practices. What factors contributed to the ultimate down-fall of the Indus Civilization. And above all, problem of its origin, instead of being solved, has generated the controversial debate on Early and Pre-Harappans³.

In the light of data available to the scholars, the problem of the origin of the Indus Civilization has been approached from many angles. Dr. George F. Dales in 1966 sees that no formative phase or early stage of Harappan culture has yet been positively identified in the archaeological records of South Asia, although current excavations in Pakistan and India are beginning to yield some clues⁴. And there seems to be no improvement in the statement of George F. Dales when we examine what S. R. Rao says in 1973. "At the outset it may be noted that the earlier phase of the mature Harappan Culture has not yet been distinguished anywhere in the sub-continent, not even in the earliest levels of Harappa, Moenjodaro, Kot

3. Archaeology, April, 1974, Vol. 27, P. 107. New Evidence of the Early Harappan Culture from Jalilpur, Pakistan. On the basis of the evidence recovered from Kot Diji, Amri, Kalibangan, Siswal, Mithathal, Sarai Khola, Surkotada, Gumla and Jalilpur. Dr. M. R. Mughal thinks that the material found stratigraphically and chronologically earlier than the mature Harappans appear to be not pre-Harappas, but rather early Harappans. He elaborates his point further that the culture of the Indus Civilization is continuous, the mature phase of which begins 2500 B. C., evolved by recognizable step out of the nascent cultural pattern which may extend back to 3200 B. C. It may be remarked here that the issue raised by Dr. Mughal, in return, raises many questions. In fact, some of the characteristic material such as seals and the script engraved on them, degree of town planning and the important pottery types are missing from the sites designated as early Harappan by Dr. Mughal. It may be apt to examine what the excavator of Kot Diji has to say. "But what is of greater significance is that underneath the Indus levels, 17 feet deep accumulation upto the bed rock was found to contain a new cultural element of Pre-Harappan date, but in no way inferior to that civilization." Page 44, Dr. F. A. Khan, The Indus Valley and Early Iran.

4. Dr. George F. Dales (Scientific American), May 1966, Vol. 214, No. 5. P. 94.

Diji, Kalibangan and Lothal, though a pre-Harappan culture is traced at some of the Harappan Settlements."⁵ We can add to the above list, the names of Jalilpur, Sarai Khola and Jhang. (The material from the surface collection of Jhang was examined by the present writer in 1972).

As to the claim, on the ancestry of the Indus Civilization, of the various groups of culture,⁶ in Baluchistan, convincing material evidence has not yet been produced in sufficient measure to trace the gradual development of these rural cultures into an urban civilization.⁷ On the basis of trade and commercial contact between the Indus Civilization, Mesopotamia and Elam, sometimes, its origin is traced to Western Asia. Marshall recounts in details the important common features of the Indus Civilization and the contemporary Western Asia Civilization i.e., Organization of society in cities, the continued but sparing use of stone side by side with the copper and bronze, the invention of potter's wheel, the invention of wheeled vehicles, the use of picture signs for writing on seals and many more.⁸ On these very grounds, it is indicated that the idea of cities was borrowed from the contemporary Sumerians.⁹ This hypotheical contention has been rejected on more than one grounds because the Indus civilization is too individual to be regarded merely as a Mesopotamian colony and was essentially the parallel product of similar stimuli at a somewhat later date.¹⁰ Had the idea of planning come from the west, the Indus cities would have been planned at least in the beginning on the lines of the Sumerian

5. S. R. Rao Lothal and the Indus Civilization. P. 168.

6. Stuart Piggot, Pre-Historic India, Page. 72. He groups the various cultures of Baluchistan as:-

A. Buff Ware Culture.

1. The Quetta Culture.

2. Amri-Nal Culture.

3. The Kulli Culture.

B. Red Ware Cultures.

4. The Zhob Culture.

7. S. R. Rao—Lothal and the Indus Civilization, Page-168.

8. Sir John Marshall, Moenjodaro and the Indus Civilization, Page-102.

9. A. Ghosh. quoted by S. R. Rao in his book Lothal, P. 173.

10. Wheeler. The Indus Civilization. 3rd edition, 1968, p. 134. It cannot be said with certainty that stimuli at a some-what later date, because the lowest levels of Moeneodaro have not been probed thoroughly to determine the precise time table for the beginning of the Indus Civilization.

cities. The standardization of weights and measures of the Harappans are also different and distinct in shape. Then again, the contention presented above cannot be supported for want of anthropological evidence.¹¹ Sometimes an attempt has also been made to equate Sumerians and Dravidians belonging to the same ethnic type.¹² It is supposed that the Dravidians originally occupied much larger area of the Sub-continent though presently, they are confined to the Southern India. The idea is mooted out with the obvious contention that they may be the original inhabitants of the Indus Civilization. Another suggested possibility is that the Vedic Aryan might be the original settlers of the Indus Civilization. But this is hardly possible in view of the difference in the physical features of the Aryans and those of the original inhabitants. Difference in the pattern of society and in the religious and ritual beliefs between Vedic Aryans and those of the Harappans hardly make a convincing claim for the Aryans to be regarded as the original inhabitants of the Indus Civilization. "A comparison of the Indus and Vedic cultures shows incontestably that they were un-related".¹³

Before we review the different aspects of the problem of origin, it may be interesting to quote what Sir John Marshall wrote in 1931 in the preface to the first volume of his monumental work entitled Moenjodaro and the Indus Civilization. "At present, our researches carry us back no further than the 4th millennium B. C. and have lifted but one corner of the veil that hides this remarkable civilization, but even at Moenjodaro there are still several earlier cities lying, one below the other deeper the spade has yet penetrated and though the permanent rise of the sub-soil water precludes the hope of ever being able to explore the earliest settlements on this site, it can hardly be doubted that the story already unfolded will be carried still further on other sites, of which there are a multitude waiting to be excavated in Sind and Baluchistan."¹⁴ Careful examination of his statement would reveal that the pioneer excavator of Moenjodaro has hinted at the complexities involved in this problem. Since then, intensive researches have been carried out on the various aspects of the Indus Civilization, but it is more than apt to say that we are maintaining a status-quo so far as the solution of these problems is concerned.

11. Marshall. Moenjodaro and the Indus Civilization, p. 107.

12. Marshall. quotes Dr. Hall in Moenjodaro and Indus Civilization p. 109.

13. Marshall. Moenjodaro and the Indus Civilization, p. 110.

14. Sir John Marshall. Moenjodaro and the Indus Civilization, 1931, P. VIII, Vol. I.

Through the bulk of the evidence recovered from the various settlements of the Indus Civilization, both in Pakistan and India, fairly a comprehensive story of the life has been reconstructed, flourishing in the third and second millennia B. C. in South Asia. Trade contact with the contemporary settlements of the Western Asia, the town planning, their industry, agriculture, and in general the Socio-economic pattern of the Indus Civilization, are the aspects, on which extensive researches have been made. The picture emerges thus, goes to establish that the inhabitants within the extensive territorial jurisdiction of the Indus Civilization, enjoyed fabulous ways of life, characteristics of an opulent and efflorescent society. Researches carried out by the eminent scholars like Sir John Marshall, Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Mackay have brought to light highly sophisticated features of the urban society of which Harappa and Moenjodaro in Pakistan and Kalibangan and Lothal in India represent important city settlements.¹⁵

Subsequent efforts were made by Dr. George F. Dales, Fairervis, Miss. B. de Cardy and many other scholars of repute from different countries. In India, Mr. S. R. Rao has made systematized attempt to tackle the problems of origin, religion, decline and the undeciphered script of the Indus Civilization.¹⁶

During the recent survey along the banks of the dried bed of Hakara river in Bahawalpur region, Dr. M. R. Mughal has mapped 33 sites of the Pre-Harappan settlements with the pottery types comparable with the principal forms of the Pre-Harappan culture at Kot Diji.¹⁷

The origin of the Indus Civilization is primarily connected with the material evidence coming from the lower most levels of Moenjodaro and the correct appreciation of the settlements flourishing prior to Harappa and Moenjodaro. Since it is not possible to penetrate through lower most cultural deposits of Moenjodaro to

15. B. B. Lal, A new Indus Valley Provincial Capital discovered at Kalibangan in Northern Rajasthan, the illustrated London News, March 24, 1962, Vol. 240 p. 454.

16. S. R. Rao, Lothal and the Indus Civilization, 1973.

17. A personal communication from Dr. M. R. Mughal who headed the survey team to Bahawalpur regions constituted by the Deptt. of Archaeology in November, 1974.

determine the evolutionary stage of the civilization, we will examine the evidence from other sites. At Harappa the evidence from the pre-citadel and the late levels has produced a hint of an antecedent culture and more than a hint of a succeeding one and is at present the only Harappan site thus bracketed.¹⁸

The question of genesis and origin of the Indus Civilization assumes special significance after the discovery of non-Harappan material by Sir Mortimer Wheeler from the pre-citadel levels of Harappa in 1946.¹⁹ This non-Harappan or 'Alien Culture' received its due recognition and a proper appreciation after the discovery of Kot Diji, which was excavated by Dr. F. A. Khan in 1955-57.²⁰

The cultural material recovered from Kot Diji has been variously interpreted in the context of the early and pre-Harappans. However, it may be stated here that on the basis of the ceramic traditions, Kot Diji seems to represent a separate culture flourishing in the pre-Harappan days with fairly a wider distribution and impact in other parts of Pakistan. At Kot Diji, a clear break in the cultural sequence is marked by the burnt and charred material on the top of layer (4). This prominent and clearly marked burnt layer suggests the last occupational level of the Kot Dijians, undoubtedly destroyed by the Harappans.²¹

Dr. Mughal traces wide spread distribution of the Kot Dijians in the context of greater Indus Valley in the valleys of Central and northern Baluchistan,²² and believes that the area dominated by the mature phase of the Harappans. This point needs a careful examination. The subsequent domination by the mature Harappans on the same very places, where we find Kot Dijian settlements, does not necessarily mean the perpetuation of the traditions, from Kot Dijians to the mature Harappans, but may be simply due to the hospitable characteristics of the area, and other facilities vital for human settlements. Seeking further elaboration of this point prompts us to look for the evidence from other Sites. At Sarai Khola

18. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, p. 29.

19. *Ancient India* No. 3 (1947), p. 59.

20. A report on Kot Diji Excavation has been published in *Pakistan Archaeology* No. 2, 1965 a publication of Department of Archaeology.

21. *Pakistan Archaeology* No. 2, p. 22.

22. Dr. M. R. Mughal, *Present State of Research on the Indus Valley Civilization*, P. 12.

Jalilpur and Jhang, mature phase of the Harappans is conspicuous by its total absence.²³ If this contention is accepted that desertion took place at Sarai Khola and Jalilpur²⁴ after the Kot Dijians, atleast some evidence of their occupations should have been there, because desertion is a gradual process and not a sudden one. There is hardly any evidence to show at Sarai Khola and Jalilpur that the Kot Dijian settlement was succeeded by the mature Harappans. As the present evidence stands, it is not possible to account for the absence of the mature phase of the Harappans from Jalilpur, Sarai Khola and Jhang,²⁵ especially when the Kot Dijians are thought to be the formative stage of the mature phase of the Harappans. After the termination of the Kot Dijian settlement at Sarai Khola, the site was occupied by the cemetery of period III 1000 B.C.²⁶

If the Kot Dijians were the early Harappans, it is not understandable as to why they failed to reach or even touch the mature phase at Sarai Khola, Jhang and Jalilpur, especially when the possibility of desertion is ruled out on the basis of the available data.

In fact, there is no pottery types from the mature Harappans which can be compared with the jar with short vertical rim and decorated with the neck band. If the Kot Dijians represented the early or formative stage of the Harappans, some of the principal pottery types must have been retained by them. "The contrast in texture, form and decoration between the normal Harappan pottery and the Kot Dijian wares is so well marked as to indicate a basic difference of ceramic industry."²⁷

Another point which needs careful examination is the total absence of seals from the Kot Dijian level of Kot Dij, Jalilpur, Jhang and Sarai Khola. It hardly needs to be emphasized that the mature phase of the Harappans have yielded seals in abundance, engraved

23. Pakistan Archaeology No. 7, Sarai Khola (Part-I), MOHD ABDUL HALEEM.

24. Present State of Research on the Indus Valley Civilization, Dr. M. R. Mughal, Page 14.

25. Jhang an other Kot Dijian site, 9 miles south of Taxila a near Fateh Jang, Distt. Campbellpur was discovered by the Exploration team headed by Mr. Ahmad Nabi Khan, M. A. Halim and the present writer were also the member of the team. Excavation on this site was undertaken by Dr. M. R. Mughal and Halim in August-September, 1974.

26. Pakistan Archaeology No. 7, Excavation at Sarai Khola, M. A. Halim.

27. Dr. F. A. Khan, Indus Valley and Early Iran, p. 51.

with the script undeciphered so far. Even the smaller Harappan settlement like Allah Dino,²⁸ 28 miles east of Karachi in the Dumlottee area, near Malir Cantt. has yielded a considerable number of typical Indus seals. Recently, two seals of the Indus type have also been collected by Dr. George F. Dales from Bala Kot²⁹ in Lasbella Distt. It is indeed a strange phenomenon, sounds rather unnatural that the typical Indus seals recovered from Moenjodaro, were used by the smaller Harappan settlements like Allah Dino and Bala Kot, separated by the long distances, but could not make their way to Kot Diji 35 miles from Moenjo Daro, across the Indus River. If the Kot Dijian represent the early or the formative stage of the Harappans, we must get some seals from the Kot Dijian levels, if not in fully developed form, at least in rudimentary form. We do not find the Indus Script, not even in the scribbling form, weight cubes are missing, town planning is also not very convincing at Kot Diji and totally absent at Amri. In the face of the absence of these typical features for which Indus Civilization has gained a world-wide eminence, it hardly leaves any ground to designate Kot Diji, Sarai Khola, Jalilpur, Jhang, and Amri, as early Harappans or belonging to the formative stage of the mature Harappans. As the present evidence stands, it is fair enough to believe that the Kot Dijians evolved and developed a separate and distinct culture of their own, which have come into contact with the Harappans during the late Kot Dijian phase.³⁰ It sounds rather strange that (as early Harappans), without having any knowledge of seal making, neither conversant with script, nor aware of the use of weight and measure systems, (as mature Harappans), they became fully conversant with highly sophisticated technique of seal making fully knowledgeable about the script, and regularized their day to day dealings by adopting system of weights and measures. The presence of common features of town planning, defences, occurrence of terracotta wheels/cakes and pea-cock design both at Moenjodaro and Kot Diji, hardly refute the idea of separate cultural status of the Kot Dijians, who wielded a powerful influence from Sarai Khola to Kalibangan. By receiving inspiration from the town planning of Kot Diji, it is hardly conceivable to raise monumental cities like Harappa and Moenjodaro. Town planning features of Kot Diji cannot be equated with the features, we observe in the town planning of

28. An American Mission headed by Dr. Walter A. Fariservis is probing this site. Second season of the excavation ended in August, 1974.

29. Another American Mission by Dr. George F. Dales is excavating the site of Bala Kot 58 miles north of Karachi in Lasbella District.

30. Dr. F. A. Khan, Indus Valley and Early Iran, p. 48.

Harappa and Moenjodaro, if we keep in mind the blossoming phase of the mature Harappans and Moenjodaro in its totality and the achievements of the Kot Dijians.

Interesting story of human occupation has been revealed through the excavations carried out at Amri,³¹ 100 miles south of Moenjodaro, showing evidence in the lower levels of a culture flourishing before Harappa and after Kot Diji. In all, five main phases were identified of which period I belongs to the early third millennium B. C. period I-C at Amri marks the flowering stage of the Amri Culture with geometric bi-chrome and tri-chrome design on the pottery evolved from the preceding phase. This pottery of lower levels from Amri is marked by the distinct ceramic traditions different from the ceramic traditions of Harappa and Moenjodaro. The typical Amrian ware is thin in fabric and is painted with geometric and other motifs in reddish brown and chocolate on buff or sepia body. This type has no affinity either with Harappa or Moenjodaro pottery types.³² The Harappan elements appear in I. D. notably the bull and fish scale pattern regarded as the hesitant infiltration of Harappan influence. Harappan culture is no way derives from the Amrian and Harappan modes are intrusive at Amri.³³ Amri IB-IIB form a comparable material with the light, thin pinkish to red in colour pottery of Kot Diji and from pre-Indus layer at Harappa.³⁴ At Kalibangan also, beneath the Harappan occupations, non-Harappan ceramics have been hinted, which are comparable with the non-Harappan pottery of Kot Diji, Amri and pre-citadal levels of Harappa.³⁵ This non Harappan materials at Kalibangan also suggest the presence of separate cultural entity, in pre-Harappan context. "Apart from the question of interpretation, there are two other factors which are relevant to the issue: (a) the occupation of the Indus Civilization at each of the sites seems to have started quite sud-

31. N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, p. 24. Amri was visited by Burnes in 1834 and his account of Amri appears in the "Narrative of a voyage on the Indus." The Site was excavated by N. G. Majumdar in 1929 Further excavations were carried out by the French Mission in 1959-62.

32. *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 5, p. 48.

33. Sir Mortimer Wheeler. *The Indus Civilization* third edition, p. 21.

34. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *the Indus Civilization*, 3rd edition p. 23

35. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Indus Civilization*, P. 23.

denly; and (b) the ceramic industries of the preceding deposit at these sites are not homogeneous, but show instead regionalization, indicative perhaps of different "culture areas".³⁶

Before we conclude this discussion, it is interesting to mention the limitation imposed by S. R. Rao on any pre-Harappan culture, which lays its claim on the ancestry of the³⁷ the Indus Civilization. It must possess the formative stage of the ancient features of the mature Harappan i.e. town planning, drainage system, standardized production of weights, measures, seals, knowledge of pictographic writing, knowledge of metallurgy and the prevalence of ceramic traditions not very different from the Harappans. If we judge from this standard and carefully examine the data available from Sarai Khola, Kot Diji, Jalilpur, Amri, Jhang, Kalibangan and Sothi, it hardly provides a tenable ground to say that "almost all early traits of the material culture were observed and further developed during the mature Harappan period."³⁸ The material evidence do not conform to the concept that the early or formative stage of the mature Harappan are represented in these sites. Such a wider distribution of the Kot Dijian culture, as is suggested by the geographical extent from Sarai Khola near Taxila to Kot Diji in Khairpur, fully justifies the claim that it was a well developed separate Pre-Harappan culture. Since the typical features of the mature Harappans, as enumerated above, are absent from the pre-Harappan levels of Kalibangan and Sothi in India and from Sarai Khola II, Kot Diji, Amri and Jalilpur in Pakistan, it will be a fallacious approach to look for the origin of the Indus Civilization from these sites. It is at Moenjodaro which offers an extensive area, and unfathomable cultural depth, that the problem connected with origin of the Indus Civilization can be solved. But there is a big sign of interrogation, posed by the ever rising sub soil water, hardly giving any opportunity for its thorough investigation. An other possibility is that the area of Bahawalpur regions should be combed thoroughly with particular concentration on both the banks of the dried bed at Hakara River.³⁹

36. South Asian Archaeology, cited by Norman Hammond, paper contributed by B. K. Thapar "New traits of the Indus Civilization at Kalibangan P. 86.

37. S. R. Rao, Lothal and the Indus Civilization.

38. Dr. M. R. Mughal Archaeology April 1974 Vol. 27 Number 2 P. 108. New evidence of the early Harappan Culture from Jalilpur, Pakistan.

39. The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. Mahmud Baig, Librarian, Central Archaeological Library, Deptt. of Archaeology for the invaluable help he gave towards the preparation of this article.

Trifolium Design as the insignia of Trismegistus, in Egypt, Mesopotamia and at Mohenjodaro

By S. Mehdi Hassan

Procurement of food has been of such a vital concern for man that civilization as a whole seems to have developed around it. It then permits civilization being divided into four stages. To begin with man was a hunter whose supply of food was most erratic. Next came pastoral life when breeding of animals assured a dependable supply of meat and milk. Already at this stage began man's contacts with plant life. The best pastures were those where rainfall was good and soil of a reasonable quality. The third stage settled man near some forest further supplementing his diet with wild fruits, vegetables and roots. As a forester he could not escape the scarce. Altogether he could convince himself that sunshine is the observation that trees grow best where sunshine is by no means ultimate source of energy for plant growth thereby supporting all life including that of man. Finally man settled permanently on land depending upon agriculture or grain crops. He realized now that, more than pastures, a farm requires a good soil and sufficient supply. be it as rain or as irrigation. Briefly three factors alone were those which a farmer came to respect, water, earth and sun, the last since no blade of grass could grow without sunshine. But of these three the most variable factor, in fact capricious enough to cause recurring anxiety, was water. Realizing its importance, as also its erratic supply, the farmer had to pray most for rains or for floods, as in the Nile, to irrigate the land. Water became his most beloved

element. In those primitive times natural powers were best conceived as having familiar and visualizable forms. Accordingly water, as power, came to be represented by an aquatic animal, the largest commonly found in rivers, which was the crocodile. Since water was a blessing its emblem was deified. Thus evolved in Egypt crocodile as water-god, taking the form of crocodile-god, called Sobek, Casson (1) informs that, "the crocodile-god was worshipped in cities, that depended on water, where reptiles were kept in ponds and adorned with jewels", as though they were human dignitaries. When these beasts were thus pampered it indirectly reveals how the Egyptian agriculturist looked upon water as the greatest boon. And once the crocodile acquired the position of water-god he became, as it were, ex-officio, the god of earth and of sun as well. Thus arose a Trinity of the three indispensable powers, for none could be overlooked. The three fused into an inseparable unity, as Divinity-incorporate, when Sobek became the god of sun, earth and water. The triple-godhead or Thrinity was Trismegistus, or thrice great, carrying the powers of three gods with no fourth being necessary for the farmer. Thus the Trinity as Trismegistus represented the highest power, second to none.

Sobek, fig. 1., carries three solar discs, one for each god. Representing Trinity, the three discs form a complex which becomes the insignia of the thrice-great or Trismegistus. But we have seen that it was water-god that finally became sun-god whence arose a Trinity. It must be clearly understood that it was not sun-god that usurped the position of water-god. This is an important conclusion which attributes initiative on the part of water-god. Here we look for support from comparative mythology. Elizabeth Durrington (2) summarily deals with the evolution of Varuna, a Vedic god. "He was a god of growth, with strong chthonic character (to enable his being conceived as earth-divinity). As god of vegetation he was at the same time god-of-waters, (water) on earth (as rivers) and in cosmos as rain". Now Varuna finally evolved himself as Vishnu, the sun-god, when he could enter the Trinity with Brahma and Shiva. The evolution of Varuna ending in the formation of Hindu Trinity, may be compared with that of Crocodile in Egypt giving rise to Sobek, also a Trinity of three gods, It is to be noted that the stage,

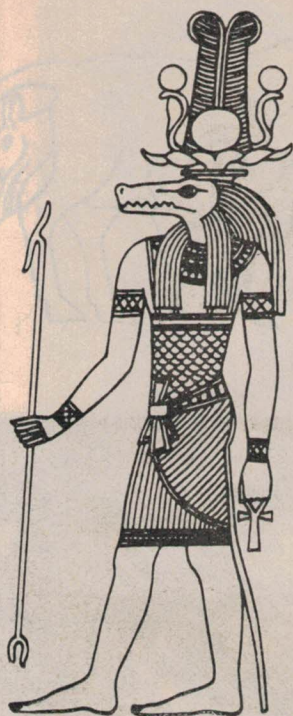


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

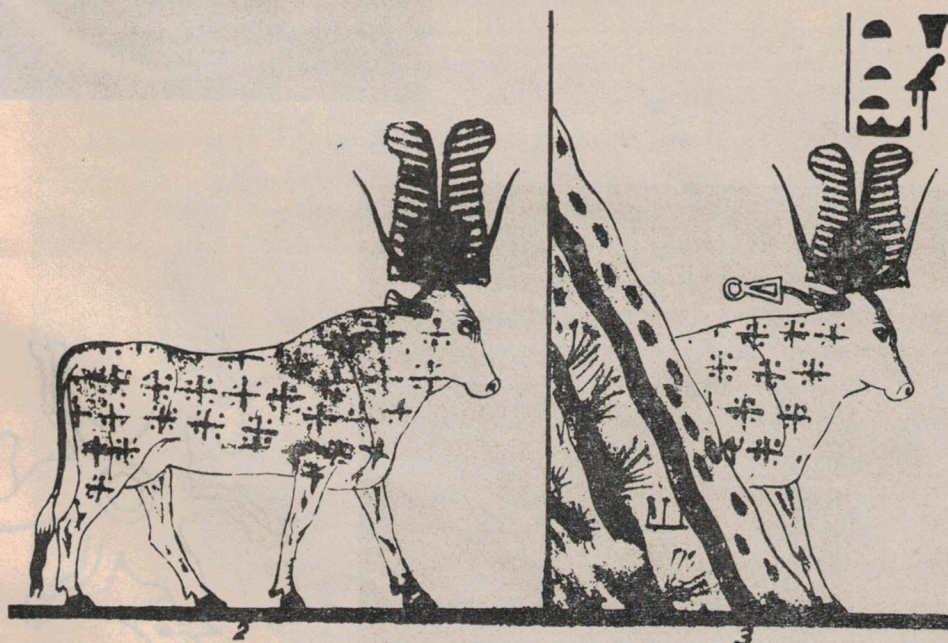


Fig. 3

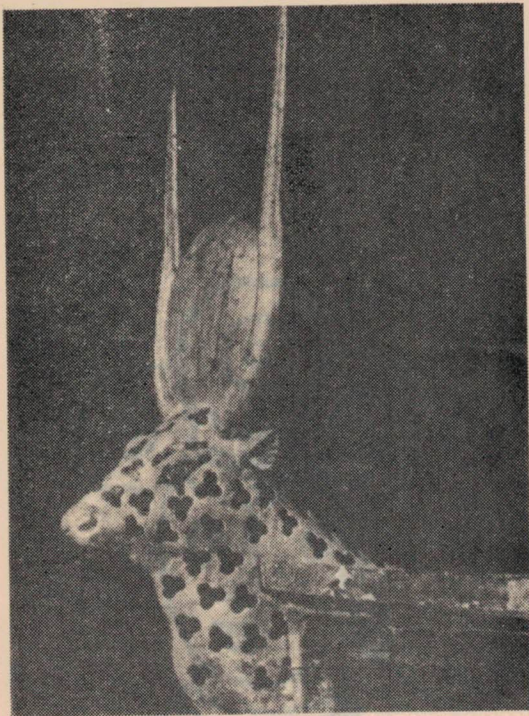


Fig. 4

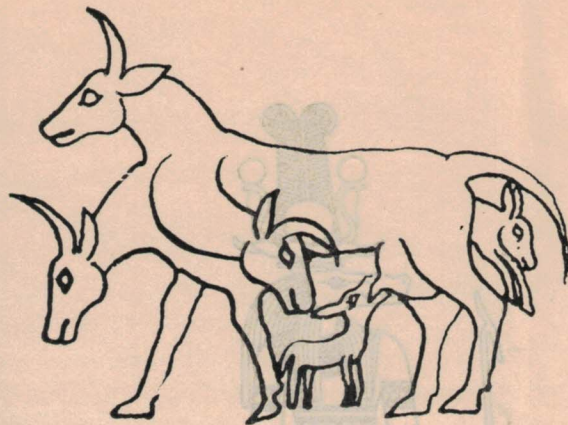


Fig. 5 a ↑



Fig. 6



Fig. 5

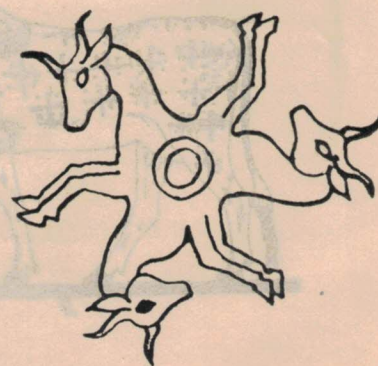


Fig. 6 a .



Fig. 7 ↑

Fig. 10 ↓





Fig. 8



Fig. 9

when Varuna, as also the crocodile-god, became sun-gods, there arose a Trinity in India and a Trinity in Egypt as Sobek. Now the potentiality of sun god, enabling him to become Trismegistus, has also to be confirmed by comparative mythology.

Irene Nicholson (3) informs that like the Chinese, Indians and Greeks, even the Mexicans believed in five cosmic elements. Accordingly among their gods there was water-god as also earth-goddess. However for god-of-water their designation was sun-of-water and for goddess-of-earth, sun-of-earth. It means that they adored the sun to the extent that it became the word for god. It thus made it complementary for a deity to be called "sun", which became the generic term for god, in fact a synonym. This explains how the solar disc, or its simplification, a halo, became the insignia of divinity. Accordingly three discs constitute the insignia of triple-godhead or Trismegistus. This is what characterizes Sobek, fig. 1.

Now just as there are three discs of Trismegistus in Egypt, there is a divinity of the Indus Valley civilization bearing three sun-flowers like a crown on the head. From Mrs. Bhushan (4) is taken fig. 2. It presents an unsophisticated figurine no less important to the Indus Valley people than was crocodile-god to the Egyptians. We have to realize that the Egyptian Sobek was the creation of a highly developed civilization whereas the figurine of Mohinjodaro of relatively primitive people.

Having developed the formula that the triple-disc serves as the insignia of Trismegistus or of the greatest power, we turn to Hathor, the cow-goddess of Egypt. It is Hathor that fed the Pharoes in heaven with her milk and as such was Trismegistus in her own rights. Now Hathor has been decorated with two different symbols. Since the bearer of these symbols is the same it stands to reason that the two symbols, though different, must have the same value. Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson (5) reproduces a picture of Hather offered here as fig. 3. She is covered all over with a cross having a dot outside at each of the four corners. This type of cross has been discussed by Budge (6) on p. 339 and illustrated on p. 338. According to him the cross symbolizes Heaven and the four corners its four directions. Bearing the symbol of Heaven Hathor becomes the protege of

Heaven and would be on the same rank as the sun itself.

Wilkinson's Hathor seems to have been an earlier attempt of apotheosizing her. The same goddess, found in the tomb of Tutankhamen, is stamped with Trifolium, seen in fig. 4, taken from Casson (1). The solar disc on cow's head would at once make her a goddess. Since it can be imagined to be thrice as large as the standard size, it would further particularize her as Trismegistus. But the real symbol characterizing her greatness is the Trifolium which is our main problem to explain. To begin with a critical examination shows that there is at least one spot where the design is bi-elemental as bifoliate, and not tri-elemental as Trifolium. There is a twin spot on the neck indicated by a short white arrow in fig. 4. And if we divide the bifoliate it results in two units as round bodies which are miniature solar discs. With three such elements we can reconstruct a symbol, which then can no longer be fractionated for as Trifolium, it is a design by itself. Thus Trifolium is the same as the Trinity of three suns, the insignia of Trismegistus or of the highest divinity. In fig.4, the bifoliate design has resulted merely from want of space at the spot and must be taken as an exception which nevertheless proves the rule that, Trismegistus carries Trifolium as the insignia.

Even today no animal food, as actually consumed, ranks more than milk, which shows how, in the earlier days of civilization, cow was considered indispensable for human existence. In India, the cow as also the bull, are still looked upon as sacred animals. Thus we should not be surprized if the cow-goddess, Hathor, became Trismegistus and a deity of the highest rank. We now turn to Mesopotamia, another land even more ancient than Egypt. There Prof. Mallowan (6) has discovered a tripple-cow, a Trinity again, taken from him as fig. 5. To begin with there is a cow as such. A second cow is delivering a calf when propagation represents creation. This because the issue is the produce of the system itself, and not derived from any other source. A third cow is giving suck to a second calf at the same time. This cow represents the preserver supporting the issue again out of her own resources. Thus the three cows constitute a Trinity, an indissoluble unity incorporating the creator and the preserver. It is obvious that no symbol can rank higher. Now it seems that a thinker tried to further condense the triplecow symbol.

His master-piece is fig. 6, taken from Budge (5) p. 125. It also belongs to Mesopotamia. Here the central disc, clearly as the sun, is shared by three cows. If one cow-goddess carried one solar disc, this had its standard value. But when three cow-goddess mutually share a common disc this must naturally be the insignia of Trismegistus and in itself thrice as great as the ordinary disc. In fig. 5 the cows appear to be three but they are so interpolated that they correctly represent Trinity and thus unity. Fig. 6 is a more condensed and intensified form of the same Trinity. If we disintegrate fig. 6 the elements would be three "half cows" which cannot exist. Hence we can rightly conclude that fig. 6 even more than fig. 5 represents unity in the form of Trinity. It means fig. 6 represents Trinity first and Trismegistus afterwards, each as a phase of the other.

In Mesopotamia there has also been a bull-god. Its picture is taken from Mlle. Rutten's (7) album and offered as fig. 7. The bull's body is covered with the same Trifolium design which decorates the cow's body or Hather's fig. 4. In fig. 4 we did notice a single bifoliate design. In fig. 7 two such symbols are on the front leg, another on the thigh, a fourth on the back, near the head, and also elsewhere. Thus bifoliate, as well as trefoils are present. The Mesopotamian bull-god however would be classed along with Hathor, as Trismegistus, on account of the main Trifolia decorating it.

By now we have reached the stage when we can handle the insignia of the priest-god of Mohinjodaro, seen in figs. 8 and 9, reproduced best as pen and ink drawing from Mrs. Bhusan (3). In Egypt the kings were gods, in ancient Mexico the priests were ranked as such. Probably at Mohinjodaro the priest was also adored likewise. In fig. 8 the priest wears a solar disc on his forehead tied with a ribbon with its two flaps at the back, seen in fig. 9. There is another solar disc on the right arm. Above all the tunic is saturated with the same Trifolia as in figs. 4 of Egypt, and in fig. 7 of Mesopotamia. Whereas in figs. 4 and 7 bifoliate and isolated discs, appeared as exceptions the single discs on the forehead and on the right arm are in their proper places in fig. 8. In figs. 8 and 9 there are also enough isolated discs on the tunic being the same as on the head and on the arm of the priest-god. The ex-

istence of a single disc makes the bearer, a deity, but tripling the same becomes the insignia of Trismegistus. Moreover the Indus Valley people carried an amulet decorated with Trifolia, fig. 10. A pious Hindu may wear an amulet stamped with Swastika the symbol of Heaven, or an image of Vishnu when he feels himself as the protege of the preserver. Correspondingly a citizen of ancient Mohenjodaro, wearing an amulet with Trifolium, become the protege of Trismegistus, the highest benevolent power. Fig. 10 is taken from his work on Mohenjodaro plate CIV, No. 6, by Marshall (8).

Finding the Trifolium in Egypt, Mesopotamia and at Mohenjodaro the question arises as to its priority. In Egypt Hathor was honoured first by the cross, symbolizing Heaven thereby, making her a protectorate of Heaven. Tutankhamen's Hathor seems to have been a later model. This would take the Trifolium design to Mesopotamia from where the symbol probably migrated eastwards to Egypt and westwards to the Indus Valley.

SUMMARY

A round disc is the pictograph of the sun and as symbol defies when bestowed upon. Triple-discs, as crow, is worn by Sobek the Egyptian Trinity, being god of earth, sun and water, Hathor another goddess is decorated with Trifolium, a design arising on three solar discs fusing into a complex. In Mesopotamia a goddess has been discovered with three cow goddesses as Trinity. Another version of the same has a solar disc in the centre with the heads and forelegs of three cows constituting a Trinity which makes it thrice great or Trismegistus, In Mesopotamia a bull-god has been decorated with Trifolium same as with the cow goddess of Egypt. The priest-god of Mohenjodaro wears a tunic again with Trifolia stamped all over, showing this symbol specifies Trismegistus, the highest benevolent power that can be. The Trifolium represents three fused solar discs, which as a complex serves as the insignia of Trismegistus.

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7. 9 Rutten, Mlle M. (1935) :
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Issue No. 7, p. 218.
8. Marshall
Mohenjodaro.
1. Sobek, the crocodile-god of Egypt, with three solar discs for
Trinity, From Casson (1: p. 185).
2. A figurine of Indus Valley Civilization with three sun-flowers,
as three solar discs. From Bhushan (3).
3. Hathor, the cow-goddess of Egypt decorated with the symbol
of a cross the emblem of Heaven. From Wilkinson (4).
4. Hathor, the cow-goddess, decorated with the trefolium design.
From Casson (1, p. 175).
5. Triple cow-goddess of Mesopotamia. Cow as such, cow in the
act of propogating a calf, and cow giving such to a second calf.
From Mallowan (6: p. 117).
- 5 a. Pen and Ink outline of fig. 5.
6. Tripled anterior part of cow, from Mesopotamia,
From Budge (4: p. 125).

- 6 a. Pen and Ink outline of fig. 6.
From Rutten (6: p. 218).
7. A bull god with human head from Mesopotamia shows trefolia.
8. The priest-god of Mohinjodaro, with tunic stamped with trefolia.
From Bhushan (3).
9. As fig. 8, back-view, reveals isolated single solar discs as also trefolia.
10. An amulet of Indus Valley people bearing Trefolium. From Marshall (8).

Pictorial on Muslim Tombs in Sind

By Sh. Khurshid Hasan

Ever since the architecture became expression of man's artistic vision and genius, there started a craze for embellishing the buildings by devising various decorative patterns and designs. With the earlier manifestations of crude attempts to decorate their dwellings, insatiable instinct of man to embellish his buildings attained its highest perfection in such ornamental expression as fresco, pietra-dura, tile mosaic work, stucco tracery and stone carving. Quite frequently human as well as animal figures provided suitable themes for decorative motifs. With the advent of Islam, new fervour and vigour was infused in every field of life and the architectural decoration of the monuments was no exception. While introducing new bold and vigorous designs in the decorative devices, the Muslim artistic genius promptly assimilated the finer aspects of earlier decorative traditions and modified them to suit their taste and requirement. The figure representation although prohibited by the tenets of Islam, yet found its way into the Muslim buildings which were frequently decorated with this mode.

It is a well known feature of Islamic architecture that a number of elements originally having a structural meaning were transformed into purely decorative devices which subsequently played an important role in vast ornamental compositions. Such elements are columns, single or in branches, and mouldings regrouped in a non-architectural fashion or strange conglomerations of pilasters. The

- 6 a. Pen and Ink outline of fig. 6.
From Rutten (6: p. 218).
7. A bull god with human head from Mesopotamia shows tre-
folia.
8. The priest-god of Mohinjodaro, with tunic stamped with tre-
folia.
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It is a well known feature of Islamic architecture that a number of elements originally having a structural meaning were transformed into purely decorative devices which subsequently played an important role in vast ornamental compositions. Such elements are columns, single or in branches, and mouldings regrouped in a non-architectural fashion or strange conglomerations of pilasters. The

second theme of ornamentation is geometrical in the shape of rectangles, squares, meanders, circles, etc etc. The third is the art of calligraphy; Quranic passages and triumphal inscriptions intended to explain the functions of the buildings and to perpetuate the memory of the founder were used in abundance. The inscriptions played a very significant role in the decoration of Muslim buildings. The use of inscriptions as a decorative design on Muslim buildings, dates back to the Umayyad period. Many scholars attributed the artistic development of calligraphy to the prohibition of figural representation in Islam. The fourth important theme consists of floral elements. Many instances of flowers or plant leaves are found on the Muslim monuments. The last but not the least category is the human and animal figural representation. Here we will confine to the figural representation.

The art of figural representation provides an interesting study. The representation of human beings, animals, birds, etc. though against the tenets of Islam, yet the representation of living forms appears even on religious monuments in many Muslim countries¹. The Umayyad and early Abbasid caliphs, the Fatimids, the Seljuqs, the Aghs of Iraq and Syria and the Safavids of Persia permitted figural reliefs and even statues in nonsecular buildings. The figural representation took the form of heraldic lions, dragons, eagles, warriors on foot or horse back² etc. The Muslim monuments of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent are no exception, where similar representation exists, though on a limited scale.

In late Muslim period, the monuments bearing figural representations are mostly found in the province of Sind. These are located at Thatta, Sonda, Got Raj Malik, Gujjo, Chaukhandi, Malir, Mangho Pir, Jhirak. It is interesting to observe that there are many sculptural representations of men, animals and birds on these tombs, built in buff sand-stone. The stone slabs are dressed and profusely carved with floral and geometrical designs.

The tomb of Jam Nizamuddin at Thatta, which was built in 1508

1. Ettinghausen R. Interaction and Integration in Islamic Art in 'Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization' edited by G. E. Von Grunebaum; University of Chicago Press 1955. pp. 122-23.

2. Goetz, Hermann, Indo-Islamic figural Sculpture *Ars Orientalis*, 1963, Vol. 5, pp. 235-41.

Fig. 1

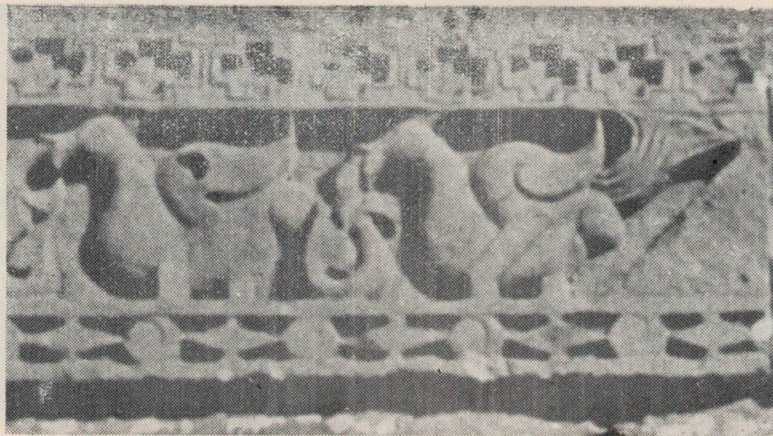


Fig. 2



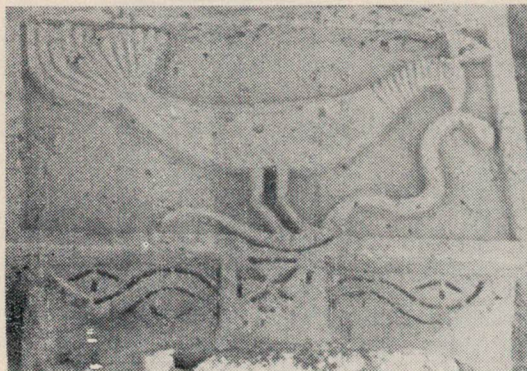


Fig. 3

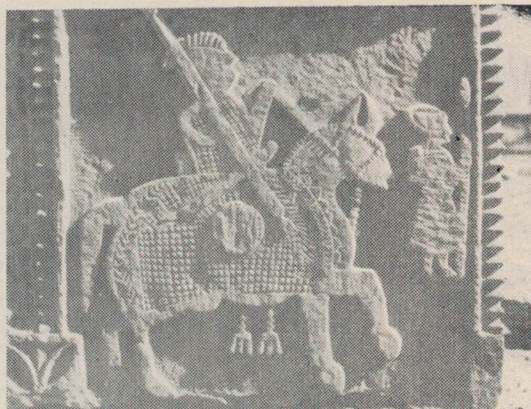


Fig. 6

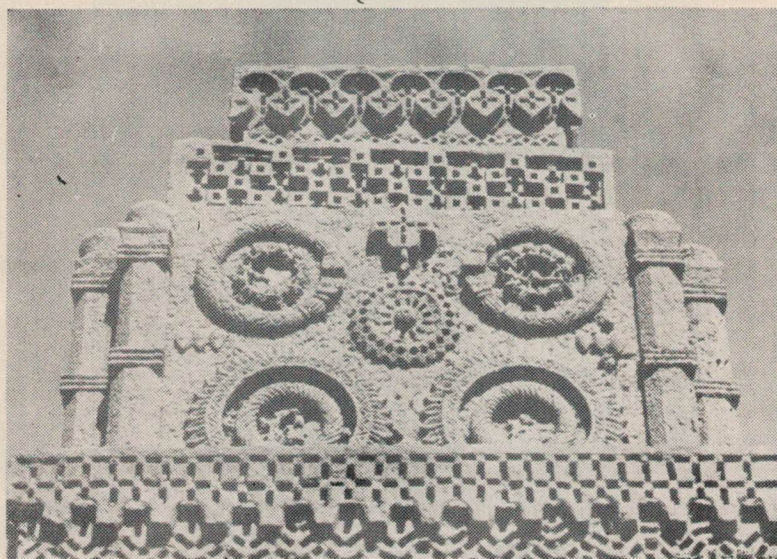


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

A. D., provides one of the earliest and finest examples of stone carvings of the Muslim period in Sind. Its prominent feature is the projecting back of the Mehrab, surmounted by a balcony and caryed pillars including a miniature Shikara. On either sides of the balcony, there is a frieze of Geese running all over the wall (Plate 1). The Goose is an aquatic bird called 'hamsa' and forms an interesting subject of study in Sanskrit and Pali literature. It is the vehicle of Brahma and figures on religious monuments. In Buddhist literature, the Goose i.e. 'Hamsa' occupies the same honourable position as in Brahmanical lore. In Buddhist jatakas, we meet the goose re-born with Bodhisattava.³ The bird occupies prominent place in fables and fairy tales of the sub-continent. In Japan, a goose is sent to brides because the wild geese are believed always to fly in pairs symbolizing mutual faith and fidelity in conjugal life. Thus the goose became a symbol of marriage and emblem of conjugal attachment⁴.

The goose seems to be a popular decorative device from the time of Asoka to the Muslim period. The famous Khanishka relic casket discovered from Peshawar also shows on its lid a row of six geese.

The Hindu features on the tomb of Jam Nizamuddin have prompted some Archaeologists including Henry Cousens to believe that it was constructed by removing the material from Hindu temples.⁵ This is, however, far from truth. The representation of living forms, as stated above, existed on the monuments in the early Muslim period. The painted pottery belonging to the Muslim period discovered from Banbhore shows friezes of stylized ducks, water fowls, cranes, fish, peacocks, etc. etc.⁶ In certain cases even the dancing couples have been depicted on the pre-Muslim pottery from the Sassanian levels of Banbhore. The figural representation on the tomb of Jam Nizamuddin can presumably be the continuation of early Islamic traditions deriving inspiration from the artistic traditions of the pre-Muslim period.

3. Vogel, J. P. *The Goose in Indian Literature and Art*, Leiden, 1962, p. 2.

4. Volker, T. *The Animal in Far Eastern Art*, Leiden, 1950, pp. 90 f.

5. Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta 1929, pp. 114-116.

6. Khan, F. A., *Banbhore*, Karachi 1963, pp. 35-38.

Apart from its significance as decorative motif, the goose is a powerful bird with an established reputation for continuous flying. Its representation on the tomb can, therefore, be the emblem of strength and power. There is a saying of the Prophet that the soul of the dead Muslim is a bird in paradise.⁷ The flying posture of the goose depicted on the tomb if judged in the light of this saying assumes its significance as symbolic flight of the soul towards paradise.

The figural representation on the grave at Makli Hill, Thatta, a child namely Nur-al-Din Muhammad is of considerable importance. According to the inscription, the figural complex was carved in 948 A. H. | 1542 A. D. under the supervision of his father Shah Mansur Hakim Tabrizi⁸. The cenotaph is made of sandstone and lies in the open without any super-structure. The upper panel contains a full blown eight petalled lotus in low relief bounded with pearl bended margin. The lower panel includes a stylized conical tree at the base of which are two goats holding something in their mouth, flanked in heraldic fashion. The other two animals, represented in fore-part, though not clearly distinguishable, are poised above the goats. On the upper part of the tree are perched two ducks in the same heraldic way. Their legs are so shortened that they are hardly visible. On the top of the tree, two peacocks facing each other with their clear plumage raised are carved in flying posture with their beak holding a curious intersected object (Plate 2).

The conical tree flanked by the birds is undoubtedly symbolic representation of the tree of life. There is hardly any symbol more ancient or more widely distributed than that of the cosmic tree of life with its promise of immortality and everlasting youth. The theme has become so important that a number of scholars have contributed valuable monographs throwing light on different aspects of this subject. Wensinck's very scholarly work based on the investigation of original sources, reveals the close connection between the cosmological. Tree of Life and the solar bird such as eagle, phoenix, simurgh, bennu. He has also considered the changing conceptions of the Tree as Tree of Life. Tree of paradise, Huma

7. Wensinck, A. J. A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition, Leiden,

8. Ghafur, M. A. Figural Representation on a Muslim Tomb at Thatta in

and Tree of all seed, Tree of Day and of Night together with the parallel conception of it as the Tree of Health or death in the literary and pictorial traditions of the people of the Near East between 1000 B. C. and 1000 A. D.⁹

The oldest representation of Tree as Symbol of Life came from the region of Euphrates and Tigris. The cylinders discovered in Ur, represent the Tree of Life with a goat on each side. They are dated as c. 2850 B. C.¹⁰ The same representation is also found on a seal from Moenjodaro depicting the tree of life with two bulls or bull-headed snakes.¹¹ The figural complex of the tree of life with birds and animals appear on silk cloth from the early Islamic era. This motif seems to be of Sassanian origin and was used as a decorative motif on the silk cloth. One of the three pieces of silk cloth found from a tomb tower known as 'Kuh-i-Naqqara Khaneh' near Ray in Iran bears the tree of life flanked by two rams. It is dated 388 A.H., 998 A. D.¹²

The concept of a heavenly tree in Islam goes back to the Sidrah of the holy Quran. According to Muslim belief, the Sidrah stands in the seventh heaven on the right hand of the throne of God and marks the utmost bounds of Paradise beyond which even the angels dare not go. This is contained in Sura LIII, 16, and re-affirms as the Sura continues 'Near it is the garden of eternal abode! The Sidret-el-Munteha has its prototype on the earth in the Sidra tree, a kind of palm tree. The palm tree is sacred to the Muslims. There is a custom of putting its leaves into the water with which the dead body is washed by the Muslims¹³. According to Bukhari and Muslim, the Prophet (Peace be upon him) had once covered two graves with the

9. Wensinck, A. J. *Tree and Birds as Cosmological symbols in Western Asia*, Amsterdam, 1921.

10. Ameisenowa, Zofa. *The Tree of life in Jewish Iconography* Journal of the Warburg Institute, 1938-39, Vol. 2, p. 329.

11. Marshall, John-Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Valley Civilization, London, 1931. Vol. 3, Fig. 387.

12. Shepherd, Dorothy G.—Three Textiles from Ray. *Bul. Cleveland Museum of Art*, 1963, pp. 65-70.

13. Lechler, George—Tree of life in Indo-European and Islamic Cultures, *Ars Islamica*, 1937, Vol. 4, p. 369.

palm branches.¹⁴ The living form of Tree of life is still represented in prayer rugs. The Sidra in the niche reminds the praying man of the desired goal in heaven. Above all, the palm tree which is a symbolic of Sidra tree is evergreen symbolizing immortality.

The peacock and snake representation on a tomb at Thatta has also been noticed. According to the Persian inscription on the tomb, it belongs to Badi-al Zaman s/o Shah Rukh Khan, who died in 1011 A. H./1602 A. D.¹⁵ The interior of the dome is carved with geometric design. A tablet just above the capital of north-west column, bears in relief, the figure of a stylized peacock perched on a snake holding in its beak the neck of the snake. Another tablet of the same size above the capital of south-west column bears in relief the representation of two birds facing each other in heraldic fashion. Same representation is repeated above the capitals of the two columns on the eastern side (Plate-3).

The peacock and snake represent the symbol of cosmic victory from time immemorial. It appears on the pottery and cut stones of the earlier civilizations in Babylonia, in Elam and also in the Indus Valley. At Harappa, a steatite pendant was discovered which shows an eagle with two snakes placed symmetrically above its wings¹⁶. According to Wensinck, the representation of birds and serpent struggle is the proof of the cosmic victory of the solar bird.

Indian literature from the earliest times relates the enmity between the eagle like bird Garuda and the snake Naga. Garuda is the carrier of the sun-god Vishnu and Indra in the form of an eagle steals the soma, the drink of immortality. The fight of Garuda and Naga is also a popular theme in the Gandhara Art.

The Buddhist motifs of the bird of prey carrying in its claws a snake is represented in pre-Islamic Turkistan. The motif continues

14. Wensinck, A. J. A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition; Leiden, 1960. p. 89.

15. Ghafur, M. A. Birds and snake representation on the Tomb of Badi-al-Zaman. A Tarkhan Prince of Thatta. Bhattasali Commemoration Volume, Dacca, 1966. p. 155.

16. Mackey, E. J. H. Further Excavation at Mohenjo-Daro Delhi, 1938. p. 663.

17. Ghafur, M. A.—Birds and snake representation—op. cit. p. 158.

in Islamic Turkistan, and according to recent investigations, Katharina Otto-Dorn noticed several figural relief on the Turkish tomb stones in Asia Minor.¹⁸ In Ottoman book paintings, the episode of Adam and Eve, being tempted by the evil spirit is represented in the form of a serpent watched by an eagle and peacock.¹⁹

The representation of snake and birds on the Muslim monuments at Thatta is, however, not a new feature. Snakes, usually associated with evil forces, occur on the mausoleum of Imam Baqir in Mosui erected by order of Lulu²⁰. Animals particularly birds and dragons have frequently been depicted on the tile decoration during the Safavid Iran especially in mausoleum.

At Malir Grave-yard, there is a figural representation of a cock, which has not been noticed before. According to the Muslim belief, the cock is a bird of cosmic bulk. As stated in Suyuti's La'ali²¹ the cock reaches from the lowest earth to the highest part of the universe so that it can be said to represent the world. It has a solar character, as appears from its wings in East and West. Besides, the cock is well known for its inherent fighting force. Its representation on the tomb might point to the bravery and valour of the deceased.

The stone monuments at Thatta, Chaukhandi, Sonda, Got Raj Malik, Malir, Sarai Bhawani, Hinidan, Mongho Pir contain engravings of human and animal figures such as horse and the rider. On many graves, we can find dagger and the sword with a shield in a wide variety of designs. From the design of the graves, we can notice miniature gate-ways ramparts and battlements. This may be a reflection of the warlike character of the occupants of these graves.

The distinction between the tombs of man and woman is noteworthy. The men tombs generally have at the top a representation of the Baluch turban²². The women tombs are plain on the top, in

18. Otto-Dorn Katharina—Turkische Grab-Steine mit Figuren Relief. Ars Orientalis, Vol. 3. pp. 63-76.

19. Esin, Emel—Mecca the Blessed—Medinah the Radiant London, 1963. pl. 9.

20. Ettinghausen, R. op. cit. p. 122.

21. Suyuti, al-La'ali, Cairo, 1317.

22. Mumtaz Hasan—Chaukhandi Tombs, Artistic Pakistan Karachi, Vol. I No. 2. p. 29.

a number of tombs of mles, the weapons of war are engraved while many of the women tombs have jewellery or other objects of feminine interest engraved on the head or side of the tomb Plate-4). This may mark the great leaders and warriors of the tribes and the ladies of prominence.

In addition, many other interesting features have also come to notice on these graves. giving an idea as to what recreational pursuits and pastime activities were followed by the people buried in the cemetery. At Chaukhandi, on one grave, a rider has been engraved with his attendant carrying 'huqqa' (Plate-8). Apart from providing the glimpse of the social evil of 'huqqa' smoking, the scene also indicates the social status of the rider who is marching with the Service Attendant. At Goth Raj Malik, a grave stone shows an amusing hunting scene with precise details of the animal movements and those of the hunters, which certainly speak for the skill of the artisan engaged for the job. The rider on the horse is shown chasing the deers with his bow in action (Plate-9). The details of the movements are indeed superb and indicate that the artist is fully aware of the subtle movements of both the hunter and the hunted. In the background are two camels escorted by the two attendants, one in front and other in the back. Some ladies appear to be sitting in the howdahs (wooden casing used as saddle on the camels back). Deerhunting scene is depicted on another grave also from Goth Raj Malik and suggests that hunting was a popular pastime with these people. It may be interesting to point-out here that the depiction of the hunting scene is a popular decorative motif with the muslim artists. Pictured wall of Lahore Fort belonging to Shah Jahan's Period with brilliant mosaic tile work depicts scenes of hunting and animal fights.

One interesting feature which has been observed on these grave is that in addition to horseman who is invariably there, a camel has also been represented (Plate-10). One grave stone from Gujjo is of particular interest, because of the decorative aspects of the saddle of the horsemen, which appears to have been prepared in beautifully designed cloth (Plate-11) as compared to the ordinary saddle used for the horsemen, depicted on most of the other graves found elsewhere.

Such figural representation has been found at Luristan, an old seat of Iranian culture²³. The engravings of horses have also been found on the tomb stones from royal burial ground of Tai Tsung at Chao Ling. These are preserved in the University Museum of Philadelphia²⁴.

It is indeed a baffling phenomenon that the figural art was so widely practised by the Muslims, as a decorative device in their architecture although Islam strictly prohibits such representation in any form. Perhaps it is a case where the love for decoration prevailed over the dogmatic belief.

23. Eilers, Wilhelm—Lurische Grabsteine als Zeugnisse des Weiterlebens Kassitischer Motive in der Gegenwart. Aus Der Welt Der Islamischen Kunst—Berlin, 1959. pp. 268-274.

24. Fernald, Helen E. The Horses of Tang T'ai Tsung and the Stele of Yu. Journal American Oriental Society 1935. pp. 420-428.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate No. 1

Panel showing the frieze of Geese on the tomb of Jam Nizamuddin, Thatta.

Plate No. 2

Cenotaph, bearing figural representation of life tree, peacock etc.—Grave of Nur-al-Din Muhammad, Thatta (1542 A.D.).

Plate No. 3

Peacock holding snake at the tomb of Badi-al-Zaman, Thatta (1602 A.D.).

Plate No. 4

Jewellery carved on the grave of a woman at Manghopir.

Plate No. 5

A hunting scene from Goth Raj Malik showing a deer chased by the horseman, followed by two camels with their attendants & ladies in the howdahs.

Plate No. 6

A mounted horseman from Gujjo with an ornamental saddle.

Humayun's wanderings in Sind and Rajputana

By Mohammad Hanif Sidiki

Nasir-ud-din Muhammed Humayun (fortunate) was born on 4th Zikada, 913 A. H. (6th March, 1508 A. D.) in the citadel of Kabul. His mother was Maham Begum, a relation of Sultan Hussain Mirza of Khorasan. He ascended the throne of his illustrious father Babur, the founder of Moghul empire in India, at Agra on 9th Jamadel-awal, 937 A. H. (29th December, 1530 A. D.) three days after the emperor's death. The date and time of the coronation were no doubt selected in consultation with astrologers as was in those days and still is the custom in India and other oriental countries. Humayun himself prided on being an astrologer and consulted the astrolabe and cast astrological tables himself. But the sooth-sayers had once in a way missed their mark. Nothing could have been more inauspicious than the hour of his ascension as later events proved. Indeed his troubles started the moment he was installed on the throne.

The young emperor, for he was 23 years of age at the time, immediately found himself in a sea of difficulties. There were dangers at home and dangers abroad. His father had spent the last five years of his life in extending his territories in India and had had no time to consolidate his conquests. The local population was anything but friendly. The Hindus had never been reconciled to the loss of their homeland to foreigners of different religious persuasion. The local Mussalmans had merely changed masters and had no reason for attachment to their new rulers yet. There was a preponderance of Afghans among the foreign population, who had lately lost their empire and were ever plotting to stage a come-back. They found a rallying point in Sultan Mahmud Lodi, brother of late Sultan Ibrahim. A still abler representative of theirs had appeared in the person of the rising Sher Khan in Bihar and Bengal. Rajput princes, though stunned for a time, had still their power intact. In Gujerat Bahadur Shah was rising into power and absorbing weaker states round about

him. Not much help could be expected from Afghanistan or further north the home of the Chaghtai family.

Then there were several claimants to the throne. His own brothers were disloyal to him and thought they had as much right to found their dynasties as any son of Babar.

There was no organized Government. It was a military rule pure and simple. The army which consisted chiefly of mercenaries from Central Asia was not national in character. The new empire had no roots.

Then on the top of it, our subject was not cast in the heroic mould. He did not have the making of an empire builder in him. He had many amiable qualities, was of lively parts and elegant accomplishments, humane to a fault, and loved books above everything else. He did not lack bravery. But he was weak, irresolute and pleasure loving. His energy was fitful and he could not put in sustained effort for any length of time. He had good native qualities of his race and the country of his up-bringing. But he had been spoiled during his residence at Agra in the company of dissolute companions and flatterers and had taken to opium. Young men often take to this drug as an aid to pleasure and soon become addicted to it. Its continued use enervates and undermines their constitution. Then it helps to forget mental and bodily ills and becomes a staff of life and so the vicious circle goes on.

The first act of Humayun after his coronation was to make provision for his worthless brothers and relations. He confirmed his brother Kamran in the kingdom of Kabul and Kandhar, of which he was Governor during his father's reign. He similarly allotted the Indian provinces of Sambhal and Alwar to his other two brothers, Askari Mirza and Hindal Mirza respectively.

Of the three brothers, Kamran appears to have been a man of great ambition and some capability. The other two played a comparatively minor role but were under his influence. All three gave the utmost trouble to Humayun, their activities being responsible for the disruption of the empire and their own ruin. Humayun following the behests of his great father, was ever a good brother and forgave them times out of number but they were always after his blood.

Soon after the news of the death of his father was conveyed to him, Kamran collected an army and set out for Hindustan. Humayun offered to add more territory to his principality but he advanced towards Lahore, captured it and occupied the whole of Punjab. His brother, out of filial love or policy, being too weak and distracted to oppose him, acquiesced in these violations.

With the burden of the empire on his shoulders, Humayun immediately set about the task of securing his frontiers and consolidating his empire. Malwa, which lay adjacent to his territory, claimed his attention first. Its affairs were in a mess at the time and any adventurer who dared, could pick the prize for mere asking. He, therefore, laid siege to Kalinjar which lay between his territories on the Jamuna and Ganges and that country. The blockade was progressing satisfactorily when news was brought that Sultan Mahmud Lodhi had invaded the provinces east of the Ganges. Humayun concluded a hasty treaty with the Raja of Kalinjar and flew eastward. The Afghan forces were easily overcome. But the Afghan danger loomed larger further eastward where Sher Shah held sway. Humayun, therefore, undertook an expedition against Chunar in Bihar. This venture was interrupted by the progress of Bahadur Shah of Gujerat in Malwa on which Humayun had already set his eyes. He, therefore, accepted the nominal capitulation of Sher Shah who was not yet strong enough to measure swords with him and returned to Agra. A minor revolt headed by Muhammed Zaman Mirza, a noble of his court, was suppressed and leaders cast in prison. Muhammad Zaman, however, escaped and went over to Gujerat. Bahadur Shah, in the meantime, was advancing in Malwa and had begun to press on Chitor. The Rana sought the assistance of Humayun but his help being ineffectual, the Rana had to purchase peace. The fear from the east perpetually haunted Humayun who collected a large army and marched from Agra but had to return again due to revived activities of Bahadur Shah, who had now formed a league against Humayun. The Moghul territories were invaded by three armies under Afghan refugees backed by Bahadur Shah but they met with no success.

Pressing as was the need of repressing disorders in the east, Humayun could not leave Bahadur Shah behind him. He, therefore, determined to invade Malwa. Bahadur Shah, after taking Chitor which he had besieged, advanced to meet Humayun but re-

ceived a crushing defeat at Mandsur. It is interesting to note that among the several eminent persons who were captured in this battle, was Jam Feroze, the last Samwra ruler of Sind. The Jam had been defeated and driven away from his dominions by Shah Hussain and had taken refuge with Bahadur Shah at Baroda in 935 A. H. (1528 A. D.) where his daughter was married to his host. Jam Feroze was put to death along with other prisoners shortly afterwards by the warders to prevent their being rescued when there was a surprise attack on Humayun near Cambay. Bahadur Shah fled to Gujerat and Humayun occupied the whole of Malwa. He followed up his advantage and pursued Bahadur Shah into Gujerat. The latter fled to Dieu and the conquest to Gujerat was complete. On his return, Humayun took the impregnable fortress of Champanir which he had bye-passed, by escalade.

At Champanir, Humayun instead of organising his conquests, relapsed into indolence and apathy. He celebrated his successes in a most extravagant manner and held lavish entertainments and gave himself up completely to the pleasures of the flesh much to the neglect of the army and the civil administration.

Before invading Gujerat, Humayun with a view to diverting the attention of Bahadur Shah, had written to Shah Hussain Arghun, ruler of Sind, to make an inroad into Gujerat and for that purpose to await him at Patan. Shah Hussain complied with this requisition and started with a considerable force, from Nasarpur* for Patan, via Idphal. Khizr Khan, Governor of Patan, had made preparations to defend the fort. He had all the cattle of the surrounding area driven into the town. Sultan Mahmud Bakhri, an able Commander of Shah Husain, leading the rear of the Sindhi army, after plundering and ravaging the villages and country on the route, advanced to within 7 Kos of the fort. From there he sent envoys of Jhareja caste to the Governor asking him to surrender on promise of safe conduct to him and his family. This he resolutely refused. The envoys then prevailed upon the Governor through his mother who was of their caste to give a present of one lack of Firozshahis to Shah Hussain and thirty thousand to the Commender as a consideration for keeping away from their territory and marching on. Sultan Mahmud was anxious to push into Gujerat straight away. Shah Hussain stopped at Patan as per instructions of the Emperor and sent intimation of his arrival to him. In the meantime, presents from the Governor arrived and Patan was spared. Sultan Mahmud

* Erskine writes Nasupur.

carried his depredation further inward near Mahmudabad and enriched himself and his followers by plunder.

Shah Hussain was persuaded to return without meeting Humayun by Shah Farrukh, one of his Generals who represented to him that his simple soldiers would be corrupted by contact with the Moghul army and its luxurious way of life and would desert him for imperial service. It was represented to Humayun that Kil-miti and Jitwi (presumably Karmati and Jatoli) tribes had invaded Sind on the invitation of certain zamindars during the absence of Shah Hussain. It was, therefore, imperative that he should immediately return to his country to repel the invasion. Without waiting for instructions from Humayun, Shah Hussain returned to Sind from Gujerat via Radhanpur, inflicting chastisement on Jhareja and Sodha tribes on the way. This happened while Humayun was at Champanir. After having made arrangements for Government of Gujerat, Humayun left for Dieu in pursuit of Bahadur Shah. He had hardly covered 30 Kos when alarming news was received from Agra. The whole country was up in arms against him. The Afghans were again active in the east. There was disaffection at Agra. Malwa was in revolt. Humayun, therefore, beat a hasty retreat to Malwa where his presence had tranquilising effect. In Gujerat, as soon as Humayun turned his back, Bahadur Shah returned. The imperial Generals were unequal to the task of holding the new Province. There was discontent among them. It was proposed to proclaim Askeri Mirza emperor in place of Humayun. With that end in view, the Generals marched towards Agra but Humayun intercepted them and he himself returned to Agra. With his withdrawal, Malwa was reoccupied by neighbouring chieftains. Hindal Mirza had been a little more successful in quelling the revolt of Sultan Mirza and his sons in the east. But Gujerat and Malwa had been lost after a short occupation.

Humayun wasted a good twelve months in indolence and inactivity again before taking the field against Sher Shah. It is not necessary to enter into the gruelling duel that ensued between the rival forces. Suffice it to say that Humayun was completely and thoroughly beaten by the superior genius and tactics of the wily Afghan. Wounded, and betrayed with the total loss of his army, he saved his life by swimming the river with the assistance of the celebrated water-carrier. After some more disastrous and con-

clusive encounters, the emperor took to a head-long flight with Sher Shah in pursuit almost to the confines of his empire in India. With the enemy in the house, the three brothers tried to patch up their differences but the attempt proved abortive. Each now took his own direction-Kamran took the road to Kabul, while Hindal headed for Sind and Gujerat. Humayun meditated an attempt on Kashmir but his plans were thwarted by Kamran. Humayun, therefore, gave up his plan of invading Kashmir and after considering various other schemes, decided to join Hindal in his attempt on Bakhar.

As Humayun is now approaching the confines of Sind, it is necessary to retard the motion of the narration and describe his further progress in detail as this paper is mainly concerned with his stay in Sindh and adjoining countries, all that has gone before having been related merely by way of introduction and background. Humayun left Lahore some time towards the end of October, 1540 A. D. Soon after he came to Bhera on the Jhelum where he found himself fore-stalled by Kamran. From Bhera he came to Khushah which he reached at noon. Husain Sultan, Governor of the District, gave him a kindly welcome and agreed to go with him on his projected expedition. Next morning, he left Khushah, after covering a distance of about 6 Kos, they reached a pass where the road bifurcated, one branch leading to Multan and the other towards Kabul. Kamran who was at the defile would not give the lead to Humayun. The latter was offended and an ugly situation developed. Mir Abul Baqa, a pious man, who had lately been in the service of Kamran remonstrated with the latter who yielded. It is probable that Kamran thought that Humayun wanted to seize Kandhar. When Banerji writes Hussain Timur Sultan after crossing the pass, Humayun took the Multan road, Kamran who had been joined by Askri Mirza left for Kabul. After traversing the desert, that divides Punjab from Sind, Humayun came to a place called Gul-Baluch. Here he was joined by Hindal and Yadgar Mirza who having been held up by the Baluchs had escaped with their lives after suffering innumerable hardships and inconveniences. News was received here of the proximity of Khawas Khan, a General of Sher Shah, who had been sent in pursuit of Humayun but the alarm proved to be unfounded. It had, however, the effect of quickening their movements. The party at last reached Utch (December, 31) and camped on the banks of the Chenab which is known as Gara after it is joined by

the Sutlej and Bias. As a precaution against a sudden attack by Afghan parties which had been sent in pursuit of him, Humayun travelled along the west bank of the rivers. The party had thereafter, to pass through the territory of Bakhshu Langah. The Langahs are Baluchs. They had been in possession of Multan till it was wrested from them by Shah Hussain in 1525-6. But the Langahs still continued to be zamindars of jungles to the east of the Chenab, which was known as Lakhi forest.

There was great scarcity of grain in the camp at this time. One seer of millet was selling for an Ashrifi but was difficult to obtain even at that rate.

Humayun, in order to conciliate Bakhshu and gain his good-will, sent a Firman with banner, kettle-drums, a horse and Khilat to him, at the same time asking him to furnish the camp with supplies and boats for crossing the river. Bakhshu who was evidently afraid of his uninvited guest, did not wait upon the emperor but sent 100 boats of corn and some presents. He also instructed the merchants to supply provisions and other necessities to the camp and furnished boats required for crossing the river. The supplies were distributed among the troops and the party crossed the Gara near Utch and marched down the left bank to Rohri, which they reached by 28th January, 1541 A. D., Askari who led the advance reaching two days earlier. Gulbadan Begum says they passed a day at Multan but it is more probable that they passed by or encamped near it. The histories mention Bakhar, by which was meant the entire township comprising the island fortress and the modern towns of Sukkur and Rohri. The fort which is in ruins now and housed military barracks till lately stands on a lime and flint rock. It is oval in shape, being 800 yards long, 300 yards wide and 30 feet high. The channels on either side are about 400 yards wide with fast-moving currents. Rohri which is on the eastern bank is perched on a precipice 40 feet high which saves it from the inundations. It has been described as a quaint old town with narrow streets, old houses and numerous mosques. The three places are now linked together by two bridges, the famous Landsdowne Bridge on the east and a pier bridge on the west, over which the N. W. Railway crosses the river.

We have had a glimpse of Shah Hassain Arghun, the ruler of Sindh. In order to understand and follow the career of Humayun

through Sind, it will be necessary to make further acquaintance with his opponent and to know a bit of his history.

The Arghuns were of the same stock as the Moghuls, both being descended from Chengiz and Hualaku. Shah Beg Arghun, son of the celebrated Zunnun Beg, Minister of Sultan Baigara of Hirat was ruler of Kandhar till it was wrested by Babar from him. Being apprehensive of the growing power of the latter, he cast about to find a new field for himself. Sind lay within easy reach. He sent a small force under his brother to occupy the fertile province of Chanduka but it was defeated by Daryakhan, the able Minister of Jam Nizamuddin (Nindo), the Samma ruler of Sind. Soon after Jam Nizamuddin died. He was succeeded by his son, Jam Feroz who was still a minor. He proved to be a worthless boy and gave himself up to enjoyment of music and company of dancing girls and Jesters instead of minding his patrimony. His favourites started oppressing the subjects. Soon he got to be jealous of his Minister Daryakhan, who probably tried to curb his indulgences, incited certain Moghuls who were subjects of Shahbeg to settle at Tatta which was founded by his father, in order to check the influence of Daryakhan. The Moghuls were given a separate quarter in the new city which is still known as Moghulwaro. Soon after, Shahbeg was driven or was about to be driven out of Kandhar by Babar he made preparations to move down to Sind. He was assured by the Moghul residents of Tatta that time was opportune for the venture. Some authorities state that at this time there was a quarrel between Jam Firuz and another Samma prince named Salahudin and they invited Shahbeg to intervene and settle the differences between them. In any case, Shahbeg set out for Tatta with a strong force via Laki, by-passing a Samma force on the way. The Sammas had lost their opportunity when they allowed the Arghuns to cross Laki, where an effective resistance could have been put up. Shahbeg forded the Ghero river which at that time took off from the main channel and flowed to the west of Tatta and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Sindhi army under Daryakhan who fell fighting bravely. The craven Firuz fled to Cutch. Tatta was given up to sack but was spared on the intervention of some holy men. Shahbeg considering that he had more territory than he could manage invited Firuz to come and share the Government with him. Firuz came with a sword suspended from his neck as a sign of abject submission and was allowed to hold Tatta, Shahbeg retaining the territories north of the Laki pass for

himself. The Sindhi subjects of the luckless Feroz were not content with this arrangement and he was urged to fight. He was soon overcome. Shahbeg who was now master of the upper Sind, turned his attention to consolidation of his power. He repaired the fortifications of Bakhar and Sehwan, subdued Baluch tribes and restored some sort of order in the country. He had set his heart on the conquest of Gujerat but died before he could accomplish it after having reigned for 15 years. His body was taken to Mecca. It will be interesting to discover his resting place. An inscription on the tomb might throw some light on his history.

Shahbeg was succeeded by his son, Shuja Beg popularly known as Shah Hussain Arghun. Shah Hussain had while at Kandhar quarreled with his father and betaken himself to the court of Babar. He was kindly received though Babar had a shrewd suspicion that he had come to him to study the art of Government. They say that when he came to the throne, he, out of consideration for Babar, refused to let Khutba be read in his own name. But he showed scant respect for Babar's son when he came begging to his door and had the cheek to tell him that he was not beholden to him for any favours in return for which he might expect help from him. It must, however, be remembered that it was Babar who had driven out his father from Kandhar.

Feroz again raised his head after the death of Shahbeg. He gave expression to his feelings in truly local fashion by beating of drums and other similarly unbecoming manifestations. But he had ill judged the heir of his conqueror. Shah Hussain marched straight to Tatta. Feroz fled to Cutch from where he returned with a large army, which was defeated in a bloody battle in which 20,000 Rajputs are said to have been slain. Feroz again fled to Gujerat with what result we have already seen. The Samma rule ended for ever. Shah Hussain then occupied himself with restoring order. He subdued several unruly tribes of Mirpur Mathelo and wrested Multan from Langahs, which he presented to Babar now emperor of Delhi who gave it to his son, Kamran. At the time of Humayun's visit, however, it appears to have been in possession of Langahs who had retaken it. The Mirza then raided Cutch from where he returned laden with immense booty.

Shah Hussain was a wise, shrewd and capable ruler. He knew his limitations and was content to keep only as much territory as

he could effeciently and effectively manage. He showed consummate tact and diplomacy in his dealings with Humayun, with whom he did not desire to risk a battle, seeking to starve him out with as little bloodshed as possible. His scorch-earth scheme was a master stroke of policy which was later emulated by more distinguished figures.

In his old age, Shah Hussain became paralytic and lost his hold on affairs. His principality was divided between his General Sultan Mahmud who has been variously described as his step-brother and foster relation and Mirza Isa Tarkhan who founded a new short-lived dynasty. Such was Mirza Shah Hussain Arghun with whom Humayun had to contend.

The whole of present Sind was included in the dominion of Shah Hussain at the time of Humayun's visit. In the north, his territories extended to Utch. In the north-west the sway of Shah Hussain was acknowledged in the Lakki Hills and Baluch mountains upto Baghban and Dhadhar. He nominally acknowledged Babar as his overlord but was an independent prince for all practical purposes. Shah Hussain has been described as a talented and sagacious monarch. When Humayun at the zenith of his glory conquered Gujarat. Shah Hussain sent Mir Anqa Arghun to congratulate him on his victory. The ambassador who was a shrewd observer and appears to have gone about with open eyes reported to his master that all was not well in the camp of Humayun. He was particularly struck by the indifference of Humayun and the arrogance of his officers, which foreboded no good to the state.

The flight of Humayun following his defeat at the hands of Sher Shah naturally led Shah Hussain to apprehend an unwelcome visit from him even as his father had been led thither after his expulsion from Afghanistan by Humayun's father. In other words, he saw history repeating itself before his own eyes. But being a seasoned ruler with a practical turn of mind he took immediate steps to protect himself and his dominion. He put Sultan Mahmood Bakhri in charge of Upper Sind with instruction to destroy everything that might be of use to the advancing forces. The fort of Bakhar was

strongly garrisoned and stocked with provisions and war-like stores sufficient to sustain a prolonged seige, if necessary. Sultan, Mahmud was instructed to shut himself up in the fort and defend it against all cost. The instructions were literally carried out. Everything was laid waste. All corn and fodder in the area round-about was removed or burnt, cattle driven away, villages razed and population shifted to places of safety. No boat was left on the river. Humayun in his progress saw nothing but desolation around him till he reached Rohri on Wednesday, the 26th Jan. 1541 as already stated having left Utch at the beginning of the month. Rohri also appears to have been partially destroyed and vacated, except for few individuals who had either too much or no stake. Some of these belonging to Dharcha and Sefiani tribes waited upon Humayun. Next day he shifted to a place known as Mirza's Madressah. The day following he moved to Charbaah in Baburloi, a few miles from Rohri, probably after the Friday prayers which he offered in the Jamia Masjid. A poetaster commemorated the occasion by the composition of a Persian verse which is rendered in English as under:

"So long the heart of the coin bears the imprint of his fortunate name, the Sun out of kindness fills the mouth of the con with gold".

"The pulpit acquired embellishment from the Khutba read in his name and Jupiter showered pearls over the head of the pulpit.

There is no trace of Baburloi now except that it is mentioned as the name of a deh in Rohri taluka. The Charbagh has been described as a delightful garden which contained the residence of the Arghun ruler. It was designed with great skill and taste, no expense having been spared. Round-about the garden were luxurious vilas of Arghun Chiefs. They were occupied by nobles of Humayun's Court, the troops being quartered in the neighbourhood and the gardens and open spaces between Baburloi and Rohri. Indeed so pleasant was the residence that Shah Hussain who has bestowed some care on the study of Humayun's character was sure that the latter would not leave his comfortable quarters and undertake any arduous expedition involving risk and uncomfort.

The exact strength of Humayun's army and followers cannot be accurately determined. But he is said to have left Lahore with 20,000 men, though he is mentioned as having only 40 followers at one place on the way to Sind. Other authorities put the total number at 2,00,000. The original band that left Lahore no doubt received many accretion and went on swelling as it approached Sind. There was a general exodus of Moghuls from India following the defeat of Humayun. There is no doubt bands of fleeing civilians found asylum in the sorry cavalcade. It is very probable that the total number of Moghuls including civilian refugees, at Rohri was in the neighbourhood of 2,00,000. But Humayun did not have a large following when he left for Jodhpur. The company shrank further by the time Umarkot was reached.

But Humayun had not come to rest, much as he would have liked to fix himself up there permanently. The army, such as it was, had to be equipped and kept in supplies, and congestion at Rohri relieved. So there was mobilisation. Mirza Hindal moved with his cavalry down 8 or 10 miles and then crossed over to the other side of the river. He was followed by Yadgar Mirza. Mirza Hindal set up his camp at Pat further down which was a considerable place at the time, and where supplies were easily available, Yadgar Mirza settled down at Darbelo further south.

In the meantime Humayun called upon Sultan Hussain to wait upon and deliver the keys of the fort to him. This he declined to do without orders from his master. He however sent 500 loads of grain and other necessities for the relief of the starving. It is not quite clear what considerations weighed with the Governor in taking this action which was opposed to the policy and general instructions of Shah Hussain. It may be that he was temporsing with a view to preventing an immediate assault on the fort. In any case he was afterwards disgraced for this action of his. Shah Hussain had not yet declared his intention to defy the Emperor. Or, it may even be that Sultan Mahmud was trying to have a second string to his bow for use in case Humayun triumphed. Humayun deputed two of his confidential servants Mir Tahir Sadar and Mir. Samandar to Shah Hussain who was at Tatta to persuade him to cast in his lot with him. In a polite letter which they carried Shah Hussain was reminded of his connection with Babar. He was assured that Humayun

had no aggressive designs against Sind, his objective being Gujerat which he wanted to reconquer with the assistance of Shah Hussain. Shah Hussain was therefore advised to repair to Rohri where they could prepare a joint plan of action. The envoys were received with every outward mark of respect and entertained according to their rank. Shah Hussain offered to place the revenues of some districts at his disposal for the expenses of his household. He was not however prepared to risk his person and place himself in the power of Humayun, who might do anything in his desperate position. Nor was he anxious to embroil himself with the designs of the fallen prince and thus court the wrath of Sher Shah or his neighbours. He therefore had recourse to temporisation. The messengers were fed on hopes, without a direct reply being given to their representation.

In the meantime Humayun was getting to be impatient. He sent directions to his envoys to return immediately if Shah Hussain did not comply with his requisition or to inform him about the correct position. Completely captivated by the artful representations of the Miraz, they counselled patience, hoping for good results in the very near future. Another period of two months passed without any communication. In the meantime Humayun's difficulties were multiplying. He sent instruction to his representatives to return forthwith if Shah Hussain did not agree to accompany them.

The Mir advised that Shah Hassan had at first agreed to come but later on changed his mind on the pretext that he was making preparations for his daughter's marriage and that distance was too great for him and would delay Humayun unnecessarily. One of the emissaries made preparations to comply with the imperial orders, Shah Hassan realising that his expectations with regard to dissolution of Humayun's army in course of time through the action of famine and disease, had failed, now changed his tactics. He sent Shaikh Mirak a descendent of the saint Shaikh Puran, whose family was held in much veneration by the Arguns and his maternal uncle Mirza Kasim along with the envoy. After paying his respects to the Emperor and placing various presents (some tents, carpets, 9 horses, one camel and one mule) which they carried, before him they were to represent that Bakhar was an infertile province and therefore no place for the Empiror to stay in. If he was to move to the province of Chachkan which lay between Cutch and the terriory

of Sind he would find it a rich and fertile place which would supply all his and his army's needs. From Chachkan as his base he would extend his operations to Gujerat after occupying which he could with the wealth obtained there re-conquer his patrimony. Humayun was at first taken in by these persuasions. But his advisers did not fall in with the idea. They pointed out that Chachkan was peopled by brave and warlike tribes whom Shah Hussain had been unable to subdue. There were no fortifications in the territory from where they could operate after securing the safety of their families and treasure. If Shah Hussain was serious he should place one of his forts at their disposal. Mir Samandar who had studied the wily Arghun at close quarters agreed that Shah Hussain was not serious in his professions. It was therefore resolved to invest Bakhar and Sehwan immediately. When the news was conveyed to Shah Hussain, he was not perturbed, shrewdly remarking that there was nothing to worry about as Humayun would not leave the comforts of the delectable garden and direct the operations in person as has already been mentioned.

In the meantime Humayun's camp had been swelling but the accretions did not consist of able-bodied fighters; only men, women, and children of all ages and cripples had flocked thither. On the restoration of the Pathan monarchy, there was a general exodus of the adherents of the house of Taimur for whom Hindustan was no more a safe place. They had all come like rats from a burning ship in the wake of Humayun. Food therefore began to get scarce in the camp and prices rose high. A loaf of bread was selling for a 'miskal'. The Emperor opened his treasury but to no avail.

Hindal who had asked for and been refused permission to besiege the fort of Sehwan and reduce the district round it was now instructed to prosecute his design at once, Humayun promising to follow shortly. Shah Hussain's tactics were a repetition of those adopted at Bakhar. The fort had been strongly garrisoned and well stocked. The surrounding country was ordered, to be laid waste. Humayun now got intimation that Hindal Miraz intended to desert him and leave for Kandhar. Humayun sent several men to get confirmation of these reports but Hindal denied that he had any such intention. He therefore decided to leave his comfortable quarters and see things for himself for a few days. Ordering the blockade of Bakhar to continue, he proceeded to Darbela, to meet Yadgar Mirza.

The Mirza came out to receive him and held a reception in his honour. After staying with him for 2 days Humayun set out for Hindal Mirza's camp at Pat which he reached 3 days later. Pat was an important village in those days being celebrated for its madressahs and religious institutions. Like Yadgar, Hindal also came out to meet Humayun and entertained him.

Pat was all agog at the visit of the late Emperor. Hindal's mother Dildar Begum held a grand reception in honour of Humayun to which all the ladies of the court were, according to Moghul usage, invited. Among them was a young girl of 14, Hamida by name, daughter of Shaikh Ali Akbar Jamitutor of Hindal Mirza. The Shaikh was a descendent of the famous saint Ahmed Jam popularly known as Zindah-fil or the "living elephant". She immediately attracted his attention and he asked if the girl was married. He was informed that her hand had been promised though the betrothal had not yet taken place Humayun remarked that the girl & her brother Khwaja Murazam who also happened to be at there at the time were his relations. He then asked the girl to be given to him in marriage.

One day Humayun asked Dildar Begum to send for the girl. The latter did not respond, on the pretext that she had already paid her respects. On another occasion Humayun sent Subhan Kuli to Hindal directing him to send the girl to him. Hindal refused. Subhan himself went to the girl. The pert little creature replied that to see Kings once was law ful but forbidden second time-Dildar Begum however, assured Humayun that she had won over the mother and she was persuading the girl to give her consent to the marriage. The mother advised the girl to accept the proposal since she had to marry some day. She immediately replied that if she was to marry she would be wedded to one whose collar her hand could touch and not one whose skirt it could not reach.

Kamran Mirza who regarted the girl as his daughter resented this and remarked sarcastically that he thought that the Emperor had come to do honour to him and not to fish for a young girl. He threatened to quit if Humayun persisted in carrying out his intentions. Hindal's mother intervened and rebuked her son but he would not submit. Humayun left the party in a rage and went back to his boat. Dildar Begum followed and persuaded him to return. The 2

brothers were at last re-conciled. But there were still difficulties to be surmounted. The girl it appears was not willing to marry Humayun who was much older than her and already had 5 or 6 wives. It may be noted that apart from the disparity in age, Humayun was tall and the girl comparatively short. Doubts were also raised on Humayun's ability to pay dower fitting his rank in his present circumstances. Humayun assured Dildar Begum that they need have no fears on that account and that he was in a position to make suitable provision for the young girl.

At last the girl's resistance was worn down and Humayun's patience was rewarded. After 40 days of persistent courtship the girl consented—Humayun himself took the astrolobe and chose the propitious hour. Mir Abdul Baqa read the nikah on Monday the 29th of August 1541 amid great rejoicing. Two lacs of rupees were given in cash by Humayun to the Mir for dower. Dildar Begum gave a party in their honour. Coins were scattered among the crowd and other favours bestowed on 'umra' of the Court. A Poet, named Hassan Hijri, described the event in a poem, excerpts from which are preserved in Badayun. The girl was handed over to her royal husband. The young bride was henceforth to be styled Hamida Banu Begum.

The couple stayed at Pat for 3 days. The camp began to get unhealthy. There was heavy mortality among the followers, no doubt due to malaria, it being the beginning of September. Humayun returned to the river with his party and sailed for Bakhar, without even seeing the fort of Sehwan. He had set out to subdue Sehwan but returned without accomplishing his purpose though with a richer Prize. It was quite characteristic of Humayun's irresponsible nature to have turned to matrimony in the midst of calamities.

Affairs were by no means progressing satisfactorily at Bakhar. There was suffering and discontent in the camp. Soon after news was received that Hindal Mirza had deserted. Humayun's brothers had never been loyal to him. Hindal had followed him from Punjab after the general debacle, as he had nowhere else to go, Kamran having already taken possession of the northern territories. At an opportune moment he got an invitation from Keracha Khan, Kamran's Governor in Kandhar to go to that place and occupy it. Yadgar Mirza who was his confident encouraged him to take opportunity, himself promising to follow him. Hindal accordingly broke camp and left for Kandhar. He sent intimation of his departure to Yadgar Mirza enjoin-

ing upon him to join him on the Kandhar road where he would wait for him.

Humayun got intimation of these occurrences on 17th Jamadul-awal (8th September). He went immediately into construction with his friend and confidant Mir Abul Baqa whose advice he always had in great respect. The Mir has been described as "a man of science, and of great weight and influence, both from his personal character, and as being descended of a holy family." After anxious deliberations it was decided that the Mir should visit Yadgar Mirza who was encamped on the other side of the river about 20 miles away to bring him round to a settlement. The Mir was successful in his mission. The Mirza agreed to wait upon the Emperor and promised to espouse his cause and be always loyal to him. The price, though deferred, for this service was heavy. Humayun was to confirm the grant of certain districts in Kabul which had been given to Mirza was to receive one-third of Hindustan on its re-conquest. While the Mir returning to Rohri from his successful mission he was set upon by a party of Doulatshahis and Barghdars who discharged a shower of arrows from a fast vessel into his boat. The Mir was wounded and died of his injuries the next day. Humayun was greatly upset by this misfortune and mourned the loss of his friend more than anything else. Yadgar Mirza came after a week and ratified the agreement.

Shaikh Mirak the envoy of Shah Hussain was sent back with a message that Humayun agreed to his terms but expected him to wait upon him in person. Shah Hussain signified his willingness to pay his respects but without intending to comply with it. He explained that he could not leave Tatta immediately as he had to make arrangements for his daughter's marriage.

Humayun's situation was now desperate. Something must be done immediately. He therefore decided to advance upon Tatta and try conclusions with Shah Hussain. He left Yadgar Mirza in charge of Upper Sind with instructions to press the siege and himself sailed down towards Tatta on 22nd Sept. During his progress several of his followers deserted him and went over to Yadgar Mirza, who engaged them. On 6th Nov. he reached near Sehwan: There was a skirmish between a party sent by him to reconnoiter and a detachment from the fort in which the imperial party was successful. They did not however press their advantage as they were advised that it

would be easy to take the fort by surprise during the night. In this they were mistaken. They found the garrison vigilant and alert. Elated with the earlier success, they still believed that the fort could be reduced with comparative ease. They were however counting without Shah Hussain. Under his orders the fort had been strengthened and garrisoned by able officers. Humayun's own officers had probably been bribed. The country around had been laid waste and suburbs destroyed. Gardens, villages and pleasure-houses had been obliterated. It was a mistake on the part of Humayun to have decided to lay siege to Sehwan instead of pushing on to Tatta. However Humayun showed unwanted vigour in prosecuting the siege. He ordered batteries to be set up against the fortifications and his efforts began to have effects.

Time had now come for Shah Hussain to undertake operations himself. He came from Tatta and took up his quarters at Sann which was put in a state of defence. An armada of boats was collected on the river to assist operations. Shah Hussain deputed Mir Alika Arghun one of his ablest Generals to take charge of the fort of Sehwan. The Mir with great presence of mind made his way through the Moghul lines and entered the fort. Humayun ordered better approaches to be made and a mine was run under the wall. When the mine was fired, a portion of the rampart was blown up. But great was the surprise of the investors when they saw that a new wall had risen behind the gap. There were some guns in the fort also. There was one particular musketeer in the fort who shot with such un-erring aim that he never missed his mark. Humayun wished that he could get hold of the man. This story has an interesting sequel which will be revealed in its proper place. Shah Hussain took care to see that no provisions reached the enemy either by land or water. His troops ranged up and down the country and cut off all communications. Effects of this policy soon bore fruit; supplies began to fail. There were no provisions in the camp. The troops started slaughtering camp cattle. Munitions gave out, leaving no means of prosecuting the siege which had been prolonged beyond their expectations. The river rose unexpectedly probably due to rains in the higher regions and the country was flooded. Disease followed in the wake of the inundation. The troops lost heart and began to desert in small parties. The officers, including eminent nobles, among them no less a man than Tahir Beg followed. Some of them went over to Shah Hussain where a ready welcome awaited them and others joined Yadgar Mirza.

Others were seized by the suffering inhabitants and thrown into the river by the boat loads. Ten thousand Moghuls are said to have perished in this manner. A Turk noble named Ali Beg Jalair offered a desperate descent on the camp of Shah Hassan with 500 cavalry by a forced march but the proposal was not countenanced.

Yadgar Mirza had now come to Rohri and taken charge of the operations. Two sallies from the fort caused great havoc among his force which had become now quite considerable. But a third sally ailed Mirza's troops having been alerted as the men from the fort disembarked. A bloody engagement took place on the beach in which 400 assailants are said to have perished. Several were drowned. A few escaped to tell their sad tale. There were no more sorties after this. Humayun uneasy with the developments that were taking place around him, asked Yadgar to make a diversion by charging upon Sunn, he himself being unable to relax the seige for fear of supplies being smuggled through to the fort. Yadgar sent a miserable detachment consisting of 150 cavalrymen under Terdi Beg, which was not of much consequence.

Shah Hussain played his cards deftly. He had measured the character of Yadgar properly and was well acquainted with his ambitious designs. They had been carrying on a secret correspondence for some time, Shah Hussain playing on his weaknesses. He now sent his seal-bearer Baba-Kuli to conclude the negotiations. Shah Hussain at once offered to confirm Yadgar in the government of Bakhar, to recognize him as Emperor and to recite Khutba in his name and to give his daughter with an immense dower to him in marriage, Shah Hussain having no heir, and not long to live he was to be succeeded by his son-in-law. But if he was impatient to wear a crown, he would with his help and support and a little spirit on his own part conquer Gujerat and become in course of time a great and glorious sovereign. Yadgar Mirza was dazzled by this brilliant prospect and yielded at once. However he was not yet prepared to defy Humayun openly. To lull the later's suspicions he sent his camp equipage one march from Rohri, thereby showing that he intended to depart immediately.

In the meantime, Shah Hussain sent his Mir-i-mal Abdul Ghafur to expedite the departure of Yadgar to Sann. From him he learnt that the condition of Hamayun and his camp was desperate. He could now openly pursue his ambitious designs. At the instigation

of Shah Hussain he seized a big boat loaded with grain and supplies that was on its way to Sehwan for relief of the starving camp and handed it over to Shah Hussain who ordered the crew to be done to death.

Having secured himself from annoyance from the north, Shah Hussain set out with a large army in a fleet of boats, filled with cannon and muskets in order to cut off Humayun's retreat. In a lightning swoop he got hold of the entire fleet of Humayun which was anchored near the camp with the little supplies and stores that remained for use of the army. So sudden was the attack that some ladies who were on board did not have even time to dress before rushing to the camp in order to save themselves from falling in enemy hands. It was rumoured that Humayun had fallen from a horse and had been wounded. The siege was hurriedly abandoned after investment of several months and a general retreat ordered, all stores and equipment having been left behind. The retreat soon became a rout. Some time earlier an envoy sent by Shah Hussain had been plundered by some of Humayun's followers. Humayun sent an officer named Monaim Beg to Shah Hussain to apologise for the outrage and entreat him to give up the pursuit. Shah Hussain refused to be appeased, being under no obligation to Humayun, as he said. In the meantime Humayun continued to retreat till he reached Rohri, with a few followers, most of his adherents having been killed, or having deserted, he sent express orders to Yadgar to get boats ready for transport of his troops and himself across the river. It is not quite clear why he went to Rohri instead of Sukkur if he wanted to cross the river again. Probably he was anxious to see that his family which was at Rohri was transported under his own supervision. The unfaithful kinsman instead of complying with the requisition instigated Shah Hussain's men to remove or sink all the boats that were available during the night. The result was that when Humayun came, there was not a single boat to carry him across. In this predicament, he was advised by his principal officers to turn to Afghanistan, but he knew what love his brothers had for him and would not consider the proposal. He ordered his foster brother Raushan Beg to seize every buffalo and cow available within a radius of 20 miles and have rafts constructed from their inflated skins for crossing the river. Two local zamindars pointed out some boats which had been submerged in water. They were secured and put to use. It took several days to secure the animals, skin them

had no aggressive designs against Sind, his objective being Gujerat which he wanted to reconquer with the assistance of Shah Hussain. Shah Hussain was therefore advised to repair to Rohri where they could prepare a joint plan of action. The envoys were received with every outward mark of respect and entertained according to their rank. Shah Hussain offered to place the revenues of some districts at his disposal for the expenses of his household. He was not however prepared to risk his person and place himself in the power of Humayun, who might do anything in his desperate position. Nor was he anxious to embroil himself with the designs of the fallen prince and thus court the wrath of Sher Shah or his neighbours. He therefore had recourse to temporisation. The messengers were fed on hopes, without a direct reply being given to their representation.

In the meantime Humayun was getting to be impatient. He sent directions to his envoys to return immediately if Shah Hussain did not comply with his requisition or to inform him about the correct position. Completely captivated by the artful representations of the Miraz, they counselled patience, hoping for good results in the very near future. Another period of two months passed without any communication. In the meantime Humayun's difficulties were multiplying. He sent instruction to his representatives to return forthwith if Shah Hussain did not agree to accompany them.

The Mir advised that Shah Hassan had at first agreed to come but later on changed his mind on the pretext that he was making preparations for his daughter's marriage and that distance was too great for him and would delay Humayun unnecessarily. One of the emissaries made preparations to comply with the imperial orders, Shah Hassan realising that his expectations with regard to dissolution of Humayun's army in course of time through the action of famine and disease, had failed, now changed his tactics. He sent Shaikh Mirak a descendent of the saint Shaikh Puran, whose family was held in much veneration by the Arguns and his maternal uncle Mirza Kasim along with the envoy. After paying his respects to the Emperor and placing various presents (some tents, carpets, 9 horses, one camel and one mule) which they carried, before him they were to represent that Bakhar was an infertile province and therefore no place for the Empiror to stay in. If he was to move to the province of Chachkan which lay between Cutch and the terriory

of Shah Hussain he seized a big boat loaded with grain and supplies that was on its way to Sehwan for relief of the starving camp and handed it over to Shah Hussain who ordered the crew to be done to death.

Having secured himself from annoyance from the north, Shah Hussain set out with a large army in a fleet of boats, filled with cannon and muskets in order to cut off Humayun's retreat. In a lightning swoop he got hold of the entire fleet of Humayun which was anchored near the camp with the little supplies and stores that remained for use of the army. So sudden was the attack that some ladies who were on board did not have even time to dress before rushing to the camp in order to save themselves from falling in enemy hands. It was rumoured that Humayun had fallen from a horse and had been wounded. The siege was hurriedly abandoned after investment of several months and a general retreat ordered, all stores and equipment having been left behind. The retreat soon became a rout. Some time earlier an envoy sent by Shah Hussain had been plundered by some of Humayun's followers. Humayun sent an officer named Monaim Beg to Shah Hussain to apologise for the outrage and entreat him to give up the pursuit. Shah Hussain refused to be appeased, being under no obligation to Humayun, as he said. In the meantime Humayun continued to retreat till he reached Rohri, with a few followers, most of his adherents having been killed, or having deserted, he sent express orders to Yadgar to get boats ready for transport of his troops and himself across the river. It is not quite clear why he went to Rohri instead of Sukkur if he wanted to cross the river again. Probably he was anxious to see that his family which was at Rohri was transported under his own supervision. The unfaithful kinsman instead of complying with the requisition instigated Shah Hussain's men to remove or sink all the boats that were available during the night. The result was that when Humayun came, there was not a single boat to carry him across. In this predicament, he was advised by his principal officers to turn to Afghanistan, but he knew what love his brothers had for him and would not consider the proposal. He ordered his foster brother Raushan Beg to seize every buffalo and cow available within a radius of 20 miles and have rafts constructed from their inflated skins for crossing the river. Two local zamindars pointed out some boats which had been submerged in water. They were secured and put to use. It took several days to secure the animals, skin them

and prepare the rafts. In the meantime, Shah Hussain was steadily advancing up the stream. The first party that attempted to cross the river on rafts was seized by his scouts. There was confusion in the camp. Every one wanted to be the first to reach the other side. There were many unpleasant scenes. Tardi Beg secured a boat for himself. But there was no conveyance for the use of Humayun and his family. A chamberlain rudely asked Terdi Beg to hand over the vessel to him. Tardi Beg abused him. The insolent lackey retorted in the same language and tone. Tardi Beg took out his whip and laid it across him. The man pulled out his sword and aimed a blow at him which fell on the saddle. Several bystanders intervened. Humayun was upset by this unseemly incident. Not desiring to forfeit loyalty of his remaining nobles he had the servant bound and sent to Terdi Beg who in gratification honoured him and let him go with some present. Humayun managed to cross the river. Yadgar was taken aback at his unexpected appearance. He had not yet matured his plans. However to show Humayun that he was not disloyal to him he made a feint at a party of Afghans which had landed killing some and capturing others. The latter were made over by him to Humayun. Shah Hussain asked Yadgar to secure the 2 zamindars who had pointed out the boats and surrender them to him. But before Yadgar could lay his hands on them, they got wind of the affair and took refuge in Humayun's camp. Yadgar represented to Humayun that as he wanted to settle account with them, their revenue being in arrears, they should be made over to him. They were therefore sent under a guard to Yadgar who in violation of Humayun's strict orders basely surrendered them to Shah Hussain. Yadgar however still kept up appearances. He gave an entertainment to Humayun in a Madressah. They were sitting under an arch. A bastion of the fort was visible in front. Humayun asked one of his followers to fire a gun at the bastion in order to try it. The shot landed in the arsenal and there was commotion. A return shot from the fort struck the porch over Humayun. Humayun got up and went to another spot. Yadgar explained that it was only a joke and that he himself had started it. Some one at this stage whispered in Humayun's ear that treachery was intended. Before he left, however, Yadgar presented him a horse with silver trappings and an elephant. A courtier named Khwaja Muazim begged Humayun to give the horse to him. Riding the horse he came before Yadgar, who was offended and taking the horse from the Khwaja sent it back to Humayun.

Humayun's stock of food-grains and other supplies was completely exhausted. He got grain from Yadgar but it was eaten up within a short time by his famished followers. He then sent a deputation under Tardi Beg to Sultan Mohmud for succour. Strange as it may appear, he received the deputation with honour and gave presents of dresses, money and grain to every one of its members. After holding a consultation with his advisers who were not agreed as to the course that should be pursued, he decided to send 300 loads of grain for the use of Humayun's family. His idea probably was not to drive Humayun to desperation. The royal name still had a hallow of magic round it. Possibly Sultan Mahmud was also actuated by humanitarian considerations.

The supplies given so generously were soon exhausted and there was again nothing to eat. Humayun's followers started deserting one by one. Small parties of troops scattered about the country foraging for food. They were set upon by the harassed peasantry and hacked to pieces. Those who were lucky to escape the fury of the local populace penetrated into neighbouring estates. Some of the highest officers of Humayun went over to Yadgar, who even threatened to torture them afterwards if they did not change sides at that juncture. Humayun was informed that two of his personal attendants, namely Monaim Beg and Tardi Beg, intended to desert during the night, the former's brother Fazail Beg having already left. In order to prevent this move on their part, Humayun was reduced to the necessity of keeping company with them throughout the night without closing his eyes. In the morning when Humayun went to his bath the two nobles made for their horses. Raushan-Beg, keeper of the wardrobe, informed Humayun about it in the bath. He desired him to detain the renegades but they would not listen to him. Humayun had to dress up in hurry and bring them, sullen but Shame-faced. Monaim Beg was handed over to custody while Tardi Beg remained, promising to behave in future.

Humayun realised that his position was now desperate. He was convinced of Yadgar's disloyalty. But still his only hope lay in joint action with his cousin, who was however determined to pursue his own plans. He had even decided to make a sudden onslaught on Humayun's little party and thus clear the way for his ambitious designs. One day he actually set out for Humayun's camp but was followed and persuaded to return by Hashim Beg who was one of his trusted advisers.

Humayun had now not even a glimmer of hope. His despondency was complete. He decided to leave the arena and go to Haj and pass the remainder of his days in peace and contemplation in the holy land. He was however deflected from this course by the few personal followers who were too known to be attached to him to gain welcome elsewhere and persuaded him to try his fortune in Jodhpur.

Maldev was the raja of Jodhpur at this time. He was a rich and powerful ruler and had a large standing army. He had lately considerably increased the area under his authority at the expense of his neighbours. He had repeatedly invited Humayun to visit him with promises of support in men and money. A letter said to have been received from Maldev at this time helped him to decide upon his course of action. Therefore he decided to say good-bye to Sind and take a plunge into the desert not knowing what the future had in store for him. Before leaving he indicated a parting message to Yadgar advising him not to trust the wily Shah Hussain. He gave expression to Yadgar's betrayal of him in another couplet.

"Oh you moon-faced one you have become
eyes and light of others—

I am burnt. How long will you be
ointment for wounds of others."

There were two routes from Bakhar to Jodhpur—one direct and shorter through the desert; the other via Utch. Humayun chose the latter. He left Rohri on 21st Moharum 949 (21st May). Marching up the river, the party, the strength of which is not specified but could not have been considerable, reached the village of Aru in Bakhar district. This place which cannot be now identified has been described as a depot of caravans to which quantities of grain and various articles were brought from Jessalmir and other towns. The merchants on getting information of the approach of the army removed their stock of grain on camels deep into the desert. Humayun's officers were however able to seize some grain and provisions which were left behind. The same afternoon they struck camp.

Humayun's stock of food grains and other supplies was exhausted. After undergoing great hardships due to want of supplies and water, they reached Mhow which marked the limit of Sind. The journey continued through a dry and sultry tract till Utch was reached. There they stayed for about 6 weeks. The dismal march had been occasionally relieved by small acts of mercy and self-abnegation. On one occasion Humayun's water was exhausted. He asked his ewer-bearer and histoiran Jauhar to whom we are indebted for much of the lively information connected with this journey, to pour the contents of his ewer into his (Humayun's) bottle. The faithful servant obeyed but complained that if he were separated from the emperor during the night he will perish of thirst. Humayun allowed him to retain some water in his ewer for himself. On another occasion an antelope was sighted crossing a ditch of water. Humayun ordered Jauhar to wade after him and take it. The latter agreed on the condition that one fourth of the prize would be given to him to which Humayun consented. The animal was quartered after it was secured by Jauhar. Two quarters of the venison were sent to the royal kitchen, one was reserved for use of Hamida Begum, who was now gone 7 months with the child and one was delivered to the hunter according to agreement.

Bakhshu Langah whom we have met before was the ruler of that area. He refused to wait upon Humayun or render any assistance to him. The little party was now sorely straitened. They had no food of any description and were therefore compelled to pick fruit of wild trees and shrubs. Jauhar particularly mentions "ber" and "Singar". "Ber" is "*Zizyphus junjuba*" but Erskine cannot make out what the "Singar" is. It is no doubt the pod of the Kandi or "*Prosopis spicigera*" tree of which goats and village urchins are so fond. Even this provision was soon exhausted. One day news was brought to Humayun that a Moghul straggler who had fallen down was dying of thirst and his son was standing and watching over him helplessly. It so happened that Humayun was indebted to the Moghul. He hurried to the side of the dying creditor with water but before administering the life-saving liquid to him, he insisted on the debt being remitted in presence of 3 witnesses. The formality over, the man was allowed to take his fill. This was a grim joke, but perhaps the man's condition was not so desperate—Humayun might have thus wished to remind him of his hard-heartedness to him at some time in the past.

At this time a wandering fakir informed Humayun that there was abundance of provisions and water at the fort of Denawal in Jessalmir which was not very far. The party immediately set out for Derawal which was reached on 28th June after a march of 6 days. They camped in the vicinity of the fort and were able to procure abundant supplies of food and water. Humayun wisely turned down a suggestion to take the fort by storm. They left Derawal at noon on 1st July in the direction of Ajmir and Bikanir, stopping at noon on the next day at a place where water was available. It is safer and more convenient to travel in the desert by night than during day. But Humayun had to travel during the day also. Next day they started again at mid-day and had not yet come to a watering place after having journeyed for more than 24 hours. Towards afternoon, however, a pool of water was discovered somewhere near Wasilpur in Bikaner. Humayun halted here, said his prayers and ordered water to be sent to those who had fallen behind owing to thirst, and had the dead buried.

On 31st July, Humayun halted at a place which was 24 miles from Bikaner. An envoy (Mir Samandar) was sent from here to Maldev to ascertain his views. In the meantime stragglers who had fallen behind because of fatigue or sickness joined the main body, which moved on to Pahludi or Fahludi about 60 miles from Jodhpur. Here they were able to get some supplies. The envoys report was anything but encouraging. A present of fruit sent by the Raja did not serve to dispel Humayun's suspicions. Another writer says the Raja sent an armour and a load of Ashrfis and offered to give Bikaner to Humayun. Humayun's suspicions were confirmed by the appearance in the camp of Sangai Nagori, a confidential servant of the Raja, in the garb of a merchant. The bogus merchant offered a large diamond to Humayun for sale which he later showed his inability to buy. The Raja probably wanted to ascertain the financial position of the ex-Emperor. Bannerji writes that 2 of Humayun's servants, namely, Raju, a door-keeper and Ishaq Agha had deserted and gone to the Raja whom they informed that Humayun had very valuable jewels in his possession. The Raja sent Sangai to get confirmation of the information. He asked Humayun if he had any jewels for sale. Humayun replied that rare gems were never sold for money, but could only be obtained by the sword. Humayun sent another messenger (Shamsuddin Atkah) to wait upon the Raja. At the same time, he secretly despatched a Hindu goldsmith named

Raimal Soni to find out the intentions of the Raja and send a message through a servant by means of signs with fingers if the message could not be safely sent in writing. Meanwhile the camp had moved two or three stages towards Jodhpur. The Raja now sent intimation that an army was on its way to the camp for his assistance. Humayun was camping on the "Yogis Tank" when Raimal Soni's messenger arrived. He held an ominous finger, the sign agree upon, which foreboded no good. This was confirmed by a letter from one of Humayun's former librarians by name Mulla Surkh who had taken refuge with Maldev, advising Humayun to quit immediately. Humayun's official envoy Atka Khan was not allowed to communicate with Humayun but he stole out through the city and joined Humayun, confirming his worst suspicions. Humayun therefore hastily decided to retreat and make for Umarkot via Jessalmer. There has been much speculation with regard to the real intention of the Raja towards Humayun. He had enthusiastically invited Humayun to his Court at first but had later on grown cold and even hostile to him. The explanation of this sudden change is that Sher Shah had begun to exert pressure on the Raja from the other end. A letter from Sher Shah was received by the Raja during Mir Atkas' stay with him, asking him to seize Humayun and make him over to him.

Humayun then retraced his steps to Pahludi and went towards Jessalmir via Sitalmir, a place which is in ruins now. As no one in Humayun's camp was acquainted with the route, two men were brought from a village to act as guides and detained in the camp. Gulbadan Begum says they were spies, which does not appear to be correct. The desperate villagers who were not used to restrain snatched daggers from some by-standers and after killing several men and animals including Humayun's horse made a bid for liberty. But they were caught and cut to pieces. There was an uproar in the camp. However, order was restored after some time and the party moved on towards Umerkot. Humayun had now no horse to ride. Terdi Beg refused to lend any of his horses to him and Humayun was put to the necessity of mounting a camel till a courtier named Nadim Koda volunteered to exchange his mother's horse with his camel. The ground over which the party had to traverse was sandy and no water was available. It was reported that Maldev's troops were in pursuit. A covering party was formed to bring up the rear and secure some provisions. This party got lost

in the desert during the night. In the morning three different bodies of men were observed following the main party. It soon transpired that they were hostile forces. Steps were immediately taken to organize the party on a fighting basis. Baggage was removed from horses and transferred to camels. Ladies were made to dismount their horses. With the horses thus relieved a small cavalry force consisting of 25 men under the leadership of Sheikh Ali Beg, Darwish Koka and Ahmad was formed. This force rode back and encountered the enemy as they were issuing from a pass. The leader of the hostile force fell with the first shot fired by Sheikh Ali. Several others died as the result of arrows discharged by the cavalymen. Thereafter they beat a hasty retreat. The moghuls pursued them, killing many of them and capturing some of their camels. A chobdar (Bahbud) was sent to Humayun with heads of two enemies killed in the action with news of the result of the engagement. Humayun was overjoyed with tidings and offered a prayer in token of gratitude. He regarded the bloody offering as a good omen. The messenger returned, with instructions to bring up the rear. After a short journey they came to a well where they halted. They were joined here by the party which had lost their way during the night. They brought several cows and buffaloes which they had seized in Jessamir territory. At this stage two messengers arrived from the Raja of Jesselmir complaining that Humayun had unauthorisedly traversed through his territory with armed forces and that his followers had been seizing and killing cows which had hurt the feelings of his community. The Raja, therefore, proposed to obstruct the passage of his unwelcome guests. The messengers were detained without any answer being sent to the Raja. After filling up their water bottles, the party marched forward. On 13th August, they reached near Jesselmir. There was a tank of water near the fort. The Raja (Rai Lankaru) had posted a body of armed men to prevent access to it. Humayun's forces had suffered terribly due to want of water on the last stage of their journey. Many of them had fallen down and others were about to collapse. They, therefore, attacked the Raja's men and forcibly obtained access to the water. After satiating themselves they pressed forward till they came to village, the residents of which had left out of fear. They got abundant supplies of food and water in the village.

They now entered the great desert. It was dry and dull. Wells were few and far between. The Rajah of Jodhpur had sent his son

in advance to fill up all the watering places. For three days they saw no water. After the first March, they came to a well at noon. They let down a bucket but it came up dry. When they peeped in, they were horrified to discover that the well had been filled up with sand. They immediately struck camp and came to another dry well in the evening. Fearing a surprise attack, they sort of fortified the camp. All the camels were ranged round it. Pickets were posted throughout the night. Humayun himself insisted on taking turns till Shaikh Ali persuaded him to permit him to take his place. In the morning, he found that somebody had half pulled out his sword from its scabbard during sleep. The perpetrator of this outrage could not, however, be discovered at the time, though Humayun expressed that he would very much desire to see the man. On the fourth day they came to a place where there were four wells; one of them had no water. The buckets for drawing water had been removed. An iron kettle was procured and lowered down. When it came up, there was such a scramble that the rope broke and the vessel dropped down. Gulbadan Begum says the water of this well was red. Some of the impatient troopers jumped into the well to slake their thirst. Others who had no more strength to wait fell down exhausted and died. There was complete disorder. One well had been reserved for use of the royal household. Humayun's artisans complained that Terdi Beg was giving preference to his animals over the men. Humayun himself had to request Terdi Beg to allow his men to take water for an hour. Water is found at a great depth in the desert. It is said that these wells were 600 feet deep, water being drawn by means of camels who pulled the rope till the bucket came up. The camels had such a long distance to cover in order to bring the water up that a drum had to be beaten as a signal to the camel-man to stop when the bucket came up to the level of the land.

At this place the Raja's son came under a white flag to complain again about Humayun's intrusion in his state and the conduct of his followers and the detention of the two envoys. He assured Humayun that he would have been hospitably received, if he had only sent intimation of his advance. A number of bullocks and buckets were promised to be supplied if Humayun made a halt. On these assurances, the two messengers were released.

There was said to be one well at the next stage. To prevent repetition of the scramble at the four wells, Humayun divided his camp

into three divisions. Each division was ordered to move on three successive days so that each had the entire well to itself for one day. Humayun himself led the first division. In spite of these precautions, there was loss of several lives due to the precious liquid not having been administered to them in time. One of the 3 divisions is said to have come across a pool of water at midday. Men and animals rushed into it without restraint and drank so excessively that many of them died.

Humayun was now near Umerkot, being 20 miles from it. Here Roshan Beg's horse broke down under him. He, therefore wanted the horse he had lent for the use of Hamida Begum to be returned to him. This was accordingly done. Humayun gave his own horse to the Begum. He walked on foot part of the way and finally took to a courier Nadim Beg or Khalid Beg offered his horse to him. Humayun entered Umarkot the same day (10th Jamadi I; 22nd August with 7 horesmen, the rest of his party having fallen behind. Gulbadan Begum describes Umerkot as a beautiful place with many tanks.

The Rana of Umerkot was kindly disposed. Though he did not wait upon Humayun himself that day, he sent his brother to greet him. The Rana's conduct was no doubt inspired by caution not knowing whether the visit was friendly but was explained as having been necessitated by astrological considerations that particular day being inauspicious. The Rana visited Humayun the next day. He appeared to be very friendly. Just as Shah Hussain had invited Humayun to invade Rana's territory, the Rana now urged upon Humayun to take Tatta and Bakhar which could be had for mere asking. The Rana could not give much assistance to Humayun, being master of a barren and sandy tract but 2000 rides of his clan were at his disposal. He could bring another force of 5000 Samechas to his assistance. Humayun expressed his gratitude but could not immediately avail himself of the offer as he had no means of fitting out the force at the time but would soon find the wherewithal to undertake the expedition. After the Rana withdrew, Humayun wished to change his travelsoiled dress, but having no spare suit he got into a dressing gown and ordered his apparel to be washed. While he was thus waiting, a strange bird flew into the tent, Humayun whose love of nature had not suffered under blows of adversity ordered a court artist to paint its likeness. The bird was released after its painting was done. What bird could it have been? Not the peacock

with which Humayun must have been already familiar. Four years ago, a beautiful brown bird which I could not identify flew into my bungalow at Mirpurkhas. I closed the doors of the verandah to watch the bird, but did not have its likeness taken.

Being sorely in need of money, Shah Muhammad Khorasani informed Humayun that his nobles had lot of jewellery and other valuable articles concealed in their boxes and other effects, Humayun decided to mulct them. He invited all the nobles to a meeting and detained them in his tent on some pretext or the other while his servants went and rifled the boxes, bed-clothes and saddlery of the Amirs. Heaps of jewels, cash and costly cloth were brought and laid before Humayun. It is said that one old woman had kept a box containing some jewellery and gold with one Hussain Kurchy. While the search was in progress Hussain was detected trying to conceal the box. The box was secured. It was found to contain three ingots of gold, 42 mohurs and some trikets. A servant named Kafur was ordered to cut the tip of Hussain's ear. The former cut the whole ear by mistake. Humayun was sorely distressed at this mishap and summoned a surgeon to sew on the ear in which operation he himself assisted. Part of the property thus secured was returned to the owners, part distributed among the marauders and part retained by Humayun for his use. Out of these exactions, Humayun was enabled to make presents of money and jewelled daggers belts and khilats to the Rana and his sons. The incident though justified by biographer of Humayun was not worthy of him and could hardly have been conducive to creation of a spirit of loyalty and confidence in his followers of which he had so much need. Humayun is also said to have borrowed 80,000 asharfis from Terdi Beg at an exorbitant interest.

Humayun stayed at Umerkot for about 7 weeks. During this time, the sorely tried troops had opportunity to recoup and re-equip themselves. Prices of commodities appear to have been very low at Umerkot. It is said that 4 goats were available for a rupee. The Rana assisted in every possible manner.

It is now time to revert to Shah Hussain and take a stock of his activities during the time occupied by Humayun in his passage from Bakhar to Umarkot. Yadgar Mirza duped by the promises of Shah Hussain had openly abandoned the cause of Humayun and turned

over to Shah Hussain. Towards the end of May, he had crossed over to Sukkur and sent some of his guns and cannon to Bakhar. Humayun left Rohri on 7th May. Shah Hussain after being satisfied that Humayun had made his exit from Sind came to Bakhar on the 10th. His first act was to censure Sultan Mahmud for having succoured Humayun with grain and provisions in the face of his declared policy. He ordered the store-keeper who had issued the rations to be impaled on the door of Sultan Mahmud's house as an example. The two chiefs Malik and Umar who had pointed out the boats to Humayun were by his orders flayed alive outside the gates of Sukkur as a warning to traitors. Shah Hussain had tried to humour Yadgar so long there was danger from Humayun. The moment he left, the attitude of Shah Hussain changed. Yadgar Mirza did not become the royal son-in-law and all his dreams vanished like mist. But the deluded man took two months to realise that his safety lay in flight. He had to pay a transit duty like a common traveller before he was allowed to depart. He soon joined Kamran who had laid siege to Kandhar. After the fall of Kandhar he accompanied Kamran to Kabul. From there he sent messengers to Shah Hussain to send his wife Shahr-Banu Begum and her son Mirza Sanjar to him. The Begum and the prince together with the Moghuls who had stayed behind were despatched with all outward marks of respect. The party appeared to have suffered on the way through lack of provisions and other difficulties. It has been alleged that Shah Hussain had deliberately chosen an arduous route for them. In Shal the party was stricken by fever as a result of which several persons including the Begum died. Few survived to reach Kabul.

Having put his affairs at Bakkar in order Shah Hussain went to Sehwan. He stayed there for a week, got the walls of the fort which had suffered damage in the siege repaired and then proceeded to his camp at Sann.

At Umarkot Humayun consulted and considered the line of action he should pursue. The Rana, who was pressed by Jani Beg whom Shah Hussain had dispossessed and at the same time desired to be avenged on Shah Hussain who had killed his father, urged that Humayun should invade lower Sind. The first attempt might be made on the village of Jun, the residents of which were hostile to Arghuns. Pursuant to this advice and seeing no other course open to him, Humayun decided to march thither with the united

forces. The Rana placed the fort at the disposal of Humayun for use of the royal family during his absence on the expedition to Jun. Hamida Begum and the other members of the family were accordingly left in the fort in charge of Khwaja Moazem brother of Hamida Begum. Having safely settled his family, Humayun set out from Umarkot on 1st Rajab (11th October). On Sunday the 5th of Rajab latest opinion is that he was born on 14 Shaban (15th October) at about 2 a.m., Hamida Begum was delivered of a son, who was to be the pride of the house of Taimur. It is said that the birth took place under a conjunction of stars which occurs once in a thousand years and that it was attended by supernatural signs. The news was conveyed to Humayun by Terdi Beg and Maulana Chand in his camp near a pond 24 miles away. His first act was to prostrate himself in gratitude before the Almighty. Thereafter the Amirs were introduced and they offered their felicitations. The child was given the name of Muhammad Jalaluddin Akbar, which had been revealed to Humayun in a dream at Lahore some years ago. He then asked Jauhar if he could produce anything for the occasion. The attendants had nothing more than a pod of musk. The pod was broken on the China plate and distributed among the nobles. Humayun addressing the nobles assembled said "This is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son whose fame will I trust be expanded all over the world as the perfume of the musk now fills this apartment". The nobles again congratulated Humayun and wished him and his heir long life and prosperity. Drums were then beaten and trumpets proclaimed the birth of the royal child. They stayed in the camp for the whole day which was passed in merriment—with music in attendance. In the evening they struck the tent, Humayun and his little army (100 Moughls and some of Rana's men) set out for Jun which was reached in 5 marches, Jun has been described as lying to the N.W. of the Runn, on the western boundary of Chachkan on the eastern arm of the Indus. Being in the Delta the country was intersected by numerous branches of the river and nullahs. It was a fertile tract in which every kind of cultivation including fruits and vegetables flourished. But the terrain was difficult for an invading army. The spirited-Humayun set up his camp in a spot which was known as the "Mirror Garden", "a pleasant and enjoyable place". Some zamindars of the locality waited on Humayun and offered their services. They were employed to dig a trench round the garden. Some villages which fell in the hands of Humayun were assigned to his followers for their expenses. Humayun had an encounter with

Jani Beg (not the Tarkhan Ruler of that name) but a free-booter and former owner of Umerkot who was lying in wait with a strong body of horsemen. Humayun sent one hundred his followers under Shaikh Ali Beg and 500 Sodha horsemen supplied by the Rana, intending to follow them himself. Ali Beg charged the free-booters forced so vigorously that they were completely beaten and overthrown before Humayun came up. All prisoners were ordered to be put to sword. Among the prisoners captured was a Moughul deserter who had been badly wounded in the face has insulted him on one occasion. Humayun ordered the contumacious beggar to be released, saying that he had already received his reward. Humayun stayed in Jun for 9 months, during which time he invited neighbouring tribes and rajns to join him. Several tribes such as Sodhas, Samachas, Cutchis and Jams flocked to his standard and he soon found himself in command of 15 or 16 thousand horsemen. Towards the end of Shahban (beginning of December) he was joined by his young wife and infant son.

A curious incident took place while Humayun was in Jun. Two drunken men were arrested in a wine-shop, bragging irreverently. One of them claimed that he was a musketeer whose shot never went wrong. The other boasted that no one except him had ever succeeded in taking out the sword from under the Emperor's pillow. Both were produced before Humayun, the musketeer was ordered to be beheaded while the thief was rewarded with a valuable present. The musketeer surely deserved a better fate.

When Shah Hussain got intimation of Humayun's eruption on his south-eastern frontier he advanced towards Jun and set up his camp 12 miles away across a branch of the river and immediately started corrupting Humayun's officials and weaning away his allies as was his wont. He sent a dress of honour, dagger and other presents to the Rana inviting him to desert Humayun. The loyal Rana laid the presents before Humayun who directed a dog to be invested with the paraphernalia—and sent them back. But the Rana and his followers were soon disgusted with the Moghuls whose conduct to everybody was extremely overbearing. An officer named Khwaja Ghazi insulted the Rana who getting no redress left in disgust. Other minor chiefs followed. Some of Humayun's own men including Mondaim Beg his future Prime Minister went over to Shah Hussain.

Humayun was informed, one day, after he had broken his fast that Tarsh Beg had deserted. He was much affected by this news and cursed the man saying "may a speedy death overcome him". It so happened that Shah Hussain had presented a slave to Tarsh Beg. Being angry with him over some slight matter he ordered the slave's nose to be cut. The latter in revange killed the master a few days later. Monaim Beg informed Shah Hussain about the desertions in Humayun's camp and advised him to attack immediately, Humayun had however taken precautions to strengthen his defences so that when Shah Hussain came he found Humayun firmly entrenched. Shah Hussain suspected that Monaim Beg has betrayed him. There were minor skirmishes but no serious engagement took place.

On 7th Moharum (April 12) Humayun was informed that Bairam Khan had arrived in Jajka (Chachkan). The story of Bairam Khan's adventures will fill a volume by itself. He had parted from Humayun at the disastrous battle of Kanauj, fallen in the hands of Sher Shah and after going through an odyssey of adventures arrived Chachkan in lower Sind. Shah Hussain got wind of his arrival and sent a force to capture him. He hid himself in a hollow and was attacked. His chambertain Khadang was killed but he himself escaped and joined his master at Jun. Humayun was very happy to hear about his arrival and sent his man to receive him. He passed some time in his company and forgot all his troubles. But Bairam Khan's presence could not make up for dwindling supplies. After the desertion of local tribes foodgrains could not be easily procured. The army had had to rely on forays the range of which got wider and wider as nearer resources got exhausted. Information was brought at this time about the existence of a well-stocked fort at no great distance and not well guarded either. Shaikh Ali Beg Jalair was detailed to take the fort and secure the supplies. He succeeded in sending some supplies which he secured on the road. In the meantime Shah Hussain came to know about his movements and intentions. He deputed Isa Tar Khan to interrupt the detachment and cut off supplies. Isa Khan was unwilling to undertake the expedition. Shah Hussain therefore recalled Sultan Mohmud who was in disgrace to undertake the command. While Sultan Mahmud marched to the relief of the fort, Shah Hussain himself pressed by land and water against Humayun's entrenchment. There were now daily skirmishes between parties of the opposing forces. Humayun who had been informed about Sultan Mahmud's march against Shaikh

Ali sent Ishan Taimur Sultan to succour Shalkh Ali. The latter considering himself to have been superseded felt offended and there was an unseemly quarrel between them.

Humayun's patience in the meantime was exhausted. There was nothing further to be gained from the policy of waiting and watching. His position was deteriorating day by day. He therefore decided to risk battle if Shah Hussain appeared on the next day. After opening his fast, it being Ramzan, he read 'Fatteha' and issued instructions to the army to be in readiness for battle. Some time after midnight Ishan Sultan Taimur arrived by boat across the river. To announce that he had been defeated with great loss and Shaikh Ali Beg killed. Humayun was visibly affected by this loss and did not sleep for the whole night.

Shah Hussain's plans it appears coincided with those of Humayun. He had come to the conclusion that it was time to take aggressive measures and had decided to attack on the morrow. Being however informed about Humayun's desperate resolve following the news of the defeat of his detachment he wisely decided to wait and let nature take its course. He did not show himself for 3 days. A deserter named Benaz advised Shah Hussain to open negotiations with Humayun. Shah Hussain accordingly sent one of his officers named Baber Kuli to Humayun offering assistance if he withdrew. At this time Humayun received a letter from Karacha Khan advising him to proceed to Kandhar immediately. As the astute Mirza had foreseen, Humayun readily agreed to this proposal. It was consented on behalf of Shah Hussain that Humayun will be supplied with 30 boats to carry his army across the river, 1,00,000 miskals in money, 2,000 loads of grain and 300 camels to be delivered to him at the village of Runai after he had crossed. A bridge of boats was built to enable Humayun to cross with ease. This bridge was called by Humayun "Sirat-i-Mustakim". The rest of the terms were scrupulously observed. Humayun started from his camp on 10th July. The river was crossed in 2 days. Provisions and camels were apportioned among various contingents. The next halt was made at Sehwan. Then Humayun was on his way to Kandhar, both the guest and the host being happy to part from each other and Sind heaved a sigh of relief. Humayun was in Sind and Rajputana States for nearly 2 years and a half. Gulbadan Begum complains that the camels supplied by Shah Hussain were "such that one

might say that they had not known city or load or man for 7 or rather for 70 generations. They flung the riders and went away with the loads more than 200 camels disappeared like this". It is also complained that the guides supplied by Shah Hussain took the party by difficult routes and subjected them to all sorts of hardships on the route. Shah Hussain is also said to have sent intimation of Humayun's departure to Kamran and Asiri to alert them.

This was perhaps the last kick of the Arghun Ruler. Can any one blame him for it.

Socio Economic Conditions of Sind Under the Great Mughals

By Hamida Khatoon Naqvi

As soon as Sind is mentioned as a subject for historical investigation three peculiarities of the region leap before our mind's eye. 1) The antiquity of Mohenjo-darro civilization that flourished on the bank of river Indus as far back as c. 2500 B.C. This is the earliest known fragment of the rich and varied past of the Sub-continent. 2) The conquest of Sind by Muhammad bin Qasim in 712 A. D., which again leads India in regard to the experience of Muslim conquest. 3) The compilation of the first documentary history of near contemporary events entitled **Fatehnama** or **Chachnama** by an anonymous (Arab?) author, which was subsequently brought to light by Ali Kufi.¹ This treatise is the first of its kind to have been written in entire Sub-continent, exclusive of Kashmir.²

Muhammad bin Qasim's conquest of Sind became a landmark in the social and cultural sphere of the province. It focussed Sind's proximity to its western Muslim countries which were accessible both by sea and over land route; Kirman and Iran adjoin its western border line. This closeness enabled Sind to develop independent commercial and social relations and evolve deep cultural ties which were manifested in the Sindhi religious beliefs, mode of dress and

1. *Chachnama*, 4.

2. In *Kashmir Raj Taringini*, a comprehensive historical treatise, was compiled by Kalhan in the seven century A. D.

language-but more particularly in the Sindhi script. Over a period of time, the western strains in the emergent milieu became so marked that at times it bore no resemblance to the strictly traditional Indian way of life. The Sindhi mind, in the prevailing synthesised atmosphere, was less obsessed with the Indian rites and rituals; even to those Sindhis who still adhered to their ancient faith, the customary stringency of their creed had lost part of its significance.

Politically Muhammad bin Qasim's conquest was too short-lived to exercise any profound impact on Sind. Immediately before his departure, the young general had simply divided the conquered area into four administrative units, placing each of them under one of his own nominated incumbent. These governors with minor adjustments continued to govern the area according to the old system. Their successors for centuries, though by and large Muslims, brought about no substantial change in the obtaining order. Sind therefore remained politically a weak and divided province; unlike its eastern neighbour, Gujarat. Sind failed to produce a powerful ruler who could introduce and implement the necessary reforms and generate dynamism in its rather sluggish life. After 1206 A. D., Sind was intermittently occupied by the Sultans of Delhi,¹ but their interest in this remote desert province was confined to keep it under their suzerainty.

Emperor Akbar annexed Sind (then called Tattah) in 1591 A. D.² and incorporated it as a sarkar in the **subah** of Multan.³ Considering that the turn of Sind came so late in the imperial schedule of expansion, it may be inferred that Akbar did not prize Sind too highly. In fact, even in 1591 A.D., the Emperor was prompted to conquer Sind in order to combat the growing Portuguese menace in the sixteenth century; Portuguese were the supreme masters of Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean; in Sind they had acquired practical monopoly over its maritime commerce, directed mainly to Persian Gulf.⁴ Consequently, no oceanic trade could safely and consistently be conducted through Lahri Bunder, the principal Sindhi port at the time, without entering into some sort of alliance with them. In addition, Mirza Jani Beg, the ruler of Sind, had even enlisted their military support in his

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, 446-47, 480.

2. *Akbarnama*, III, 920.

3. *A. A.*, II., 328, 338; also see *Ruq'at-i-Alamgiri*, 72, 171.

4. *Roe*, 96, 245, 469; *Pelsaert*, 32.

wars against the Mughals.¹ Emperor Akbar always apprehensive of their design,² become extra careful of their movements and growing influence on the Sind coast. He therefore, after conquest of the province retained Lahri Bunder as crown property.³ This measure had effectively prevented the Portugese from spreading over the mainland.

Sind or Tattah as Abul Fazl calls it, inclusive of Multan became a large province extending from Firozpur on the north east to Makran in the south west,⁴ eastwards it is contiguous to the subahs of Aimer and Gujarat, while in the south it is confined by Arabian Sea. Starting from Ajmer the Thar desert spread-over a large part of the province rendering it sandy and arid. Rainfall is inconsiderable and heat excessive. North western fringe⁵ is hilly though again, dry Rivers Ravi, Beas, Chanab along with lesser tributaries flow through the northern parts, while river Sind—called Mehran here—⁶ after its confluence with all these at various points reaches down south emptying itself in the Arabian Sea.⁶ Thus river Mehran serves Sind much the same way as river Nile does Egypt. Except for river banks, the whole province suffered from scarcity of water—a circumstance which the human agency endeavoured to overcome by digging up wells,⁷ installation of Persian wheels,⁸ building reservoirs,⁹ and by cutting canals. In Chachnama at least nine canals are mentioned by name which were then full of water.¹⁰ Indeed, some of them afforded facility for boat traffic even.¹¹

In this setting of sandy soil, over-dry atmosphere and large desert tracts interspersed with some water areas, a fast rate of population could not be sustained; the province therefore, remained a sparsely populated one and human agglomerations appeared merely

1. Akbarnama, III, 972; Masumi, 285, 351.
2. Akbarnama, III, 757-58; Urbanisation etc., 19-20.
3. Akbarnama, III, 996.
4. A. A., II., 330.
5. A. A., II., 330.
6. A. A., II., 329-30.
7. Chachnama, 81; Jauhar, 71, 72, 73.
8. Masumi, 151.
9. Chachnama, 157; 343; Jauhar, 73.
10. Chachnama, 64, 65, 154, 164, 230, 232, 276, 279, 309; Masumi, 245.
11. Chachnama, 154.

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11. Chachnama, 154.

in pockets around water resources. This observation is amply borne out by contemporary literature, particularly by travelogues such as those of Humayun,¹ S. Manrique,² or Dara Shikoh.³ Moreover the occurrence of large uninhabited areas over the province created defence problems for those who lived beyond them, such as Jats⁴ and Baluchis.⁵ By profession they were horse⁷ or camel breeders⁸ and had evidently learnt the hard way to be wary of chance strangers, a habit which seems to have developed into a marked propensity to savagery at the slightest provocation.⁹

The geographical conditions of the area do not account for extraordinary fertility. The situation was however, partly redeemed by the employment of riverine waters for irrigation by introducing in parts of the province a network of canals and other mediums for storage of water. Cultivation thus thrived along the river banks, canal waters and adjacent to lakes and wells; a phenomenon ensuring self sufficiency in agricultural products. In fact, this system of irrigation instead of dependence on rainfall for cultivation had its own advantages. It reduced the frequency and scope of famine visitation caused either by drought or inundation. Indeed, compared to other parts of the Empire here famine affliction is seldom noticed. In 974 A. H., for example, in Bhakkar region famine conditions prevailed,¹⁰ while other parts were not similarly affected. In 1630's, the adjacent province of Gujarat was hit with the severest possible famine, but Sind remained untouched with the calamity. Further, it (artificial irrigation) resulted in diversification of pursuits so that pressure on land was minimised. Cultivation of cash crops which required more of labour, less of alluvial soil, and running water, but yielding a much higher margin of profit, was better grown here; for instance, the cotton of Sind was considered next only to that of Surat-Burhanpur sector. Tillers were thus greatly encouraged to extend or move to the cultivation of valuable crops, registering there-

1. Jauhar, chapters IX-XIII.
2. Manrique, *Travels*, etc., vol. II.
3. Manucci, *Mogul India*, see relevant chapters.
4. *Chachnama*, 301-02.
5. *Akbarnama*, III., 235-36; Withington, Foster, 209-18 *Ruq'at-i-Alamgiri*, 171-72.
7. *Chachnama*, 101; A. A., I., 140; Masumi, 177.
8. *Chachnama*, 129, 130; A. A., I., 151; Pelsaert, 31.
9. Withington, Foster, 209-218. This volume is not before me so I am unable to quote the exact page.
10. Masumi, 234; *Ruqat*, 171.

by an augmentation in the supply of agricultural raw materials for manufactures. This circumstance, in turn, persuaded the artisans to take to crafts and give up cultivation either wholly or partly. Finally, cattle rearing, horse and camel breeding and fishery were some other openings available to those seeking employment in non-urban areas.

Abul Fazal's statistics recorded in the **A'in i Akbari** reveal that all the main foodgrain crops were sown and harvested in the area,¹ from amongst them **shali** rice of good quality was produced in abundance.² Besides vegetables,³ fruits,⁴ oilseeds,⁵ sugarcane,⁶ poppy,⁷ cotton⁸ and dyeing agents—indigo,⁹ turmeric and henna—¹⁰ were amply produced so that after meeting local requirements some surplus was left over for export. In view of the fact that the region was annexed in 1591, A. D., and **A'in i Akbari** was compiled about four years later, we may safely assume that this record of agricultural viability was the result of the efforts made by the preceding rulers of Sind. The inference would thus be that the Amirs of Sind, similar to the Sultans of other principalities of the Sub-continent,¹¹ were really endeavouring to build up a prosperous economy by encouraging the production of valuable crops which could, in the end, lead up to an active and lucrative industrial and commercial life. Evidently, they were thwarted by other factors in their attempt to raise the level of the country's economy.

In Akbar's Empire the revenue demand from the cultivators was based on a system of division of crops, one third being fixed as the share of the state.¹² The assessed revenue was payable in cash,¹³ but from Abul Fazl's account it does not appear that in Sind too

1. A. A., II., 89-91, 121, 122.

2. A. A., II., 339.

3. A. A., II., 89, 90, 91.

4. *Rehla*, 6; *Jauhar*, 79; A. A., II., 330, 339; *Masumi*, 245; *Ruq'at*, 4; *Khulasat*, 79.

5. A. A., II., 89, 121, 122.

6. A. A., II., 90, 122; *Pelsaert*, 31.

7. A. A., II., 89, 121; *Pelsaert*, 31.

8. A. A., II., 90, 122; *Manrique*, II., 239, *Masumi*, 176.

9. A. A., II., 91; 122; *Roe*, 76; *Withington*, *Foster*, 218.

10. A. A., II., 122.

11. *Urbanisation*. etc., 38-39.

12. A. A., II, 339.

13. A. A., II, 47.

cash payment was obligatory. From this exemption we may infer that the area was not as yet considered advanced enough for full scale monetisation. Thus by about the end of sixteenth century, Sind as an imperial province, started with a lag and even in future it was bound to take long to catch up with the monetised zones as the rate of growth here would be slow and halting. However, since the rate of assessment was uniform for all kinds of crops, it was more profitable for both the state claiming one third of the produce and the tiller retaining two thirds, to harvest valuable crops.¹ This circumstance went a long way in promoting the yield of agricultural raw materials required for raising the volume of manufactured goods.

Vegetables were grown wherever nature of soil, availability of water and inclination of the grower permitted it. Amongst fruits mangoes and melons are reported to have been of extraordinary excellence.² We may however, assume that in view of geographical differences, horticultural achievements in this area could not have attained the Punjab or Gujarat level.

Some large commons were set apart to serve as grazing grounds for cattle.³ so that livestock were in abundance in the province.⁴ Donkeys and mules were found here.⁵ but horse breeding and camel breeding were specially practised.⁶ The occurrence of these beasts of burden not only added to the natural wealth of the region but also to a large measure, solved the communication problem over large tracts of difficult terrain more particularly in the western parts of Sind. A large supply of fish was obtained both from sea⁷ and rivers, some of which were regarded as of superior quality.⁸

Other natural endowments of the province consisted of salt pits,⁹ iron mines,¹⁰ sulphur,¹¹ and quarries of yellow stones.¹² We are however, very little informed regarding the details of these metal and mineral potentialities. Circumstantially, we may conjecture that

1. See *Cities and Industries* etc., 147, for a fuller discussion.
2. A. A., II., 339; Masumi, 182; *Ruq'at*, 4.
3. *Chachnama*, 156, 170, 309.
4. A. A., II., 339.
5. *Jauhar*, 62, 69.
6. *sura*, 4.
7. A. A., II., 339; *Jauhar*, 178.
8. A. A., II., 339.
9. A. A., II., 339.
10. A. A., II., 339.
11. *Pelsaert*, 31; Masumi, 176.
12. A. A., II., 339.

the local salt yield must have been used largely for industrial purposes, while salt for food could easily have been obtained from the Lahore mines considered best in the Empire.¹ Iron an indispensable commodity since pre-historic days, was still used for multiple purposes ranging from the manufacture of ordinary kitchenware, to agricultural implements, and varieties of tools heavy military equipment requiring greater skill and proficiency. It was therefore, convenient for the Sindhi settlements to have indigenous iron mines² Occurrence of sulphur was very useful as it was a rare commodity in the Empire. Primarily used as a medicinal ingredient, it was also required for industrial processes of certain metals.³ Yellow stone quarry found in the area stimulated the ornamental aspect of the building industry.

Several factors had contributed in fostering additional industrial activities in Sind. Agricultural fertility of lesser order, easy availability of raw materials, special care, concessions and patronage granted to the craftsmen by the rulers.⁴ relative transport facility, accessibility to intraregional and foreign markets and favourable trading policies adopted by the rulers, were a set of circumstances tending to stimulate the craftsmen to augment the volume as also to multiply the varieties of their wares. Thus the sources indicate that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, textiles, leather goods, sugar, indigo, opium, ornamental woodwork and boatmaking were the chief industries flourishing in this part of the world.

From amongst the textiles the manufacture of cotton goods was ubiquitous in the Sub-continent, it was equally well diffused in Sind. From the travel accounts of the early writers it appears that the repute of the Sindhi cotton goods was well established by about tenth century A. D.⁵ They however do not specify the provenance of the fabrics or other relative details. Steady progress in the craft was perhaps maintained during the intervening period, because by seventeenth century following towns emerge as centres of production of cotton goods:—

1. *Cities and Industries* etc., 241.
2. *Ibid.*, 229-233.
3. These pieces of information have been gathered from the Tibbi works and *Majma'atus Sana i*, which unfortunately are not before me.
4. *Chachnama*, 256, 310.
5. Ibn-i-Hauqal, q. by S. Nadvi, 77; Purchas, III., 64-65.

Location	Varieties produced	Remarks	Source
Multan	With cotton goods, chhint, flowered carpets, napkins,	in large quantities,	Pelsaert, 31.
Nasrpur		3,000, families of weavers lived here	Manrique, II.
Sehwan	<i>baftas</i>	1,000, families produced it	Manrique, II, also see Withington, Foster 218; Pelsaert, 32; E.F. 1646-50, 188.
Tattah	<i>aljahs</i> , diaper clothing, superior <i>baftas</i> , coarse gingham for sails fine carpets, quilts, mattresses, <i>chira</i>		Manrique, II, 239. Ruq 'at, 12.

These major centres had evidently, attracted the notice of the recorders owing either to the volume or variety produced. The villages were probably still producing their usual share of volume and variety of goods, besides carrying on the initial processes of the craft, such as cleaning of cotton, ginning, carding and spinning, while the towns took over the weaving, dyeing, printing and other finishing jobs.¹ Thus in Sind, as elsewhere in the Empire, the urban turnover of cotton goods was supplemented by the rural output, along with the fact of its being complementary to the rural processes of production.² Most of the piecegoods shown in the Table were normally meant for export, therefore other varieties not occurring here but required for domestic consumption must have been supplemented by part rural part urban turnover.

Woollen goods were also produced in Sind in considerable quantity, from amongst them rugs, blankets, specially the *loi* blankets,³ were the noteworthy manufactures. Coarse rugs and saddles made of goats' hair, in dull brown shade were noted for their extreme durability.⁴ It appears that these woollens were locally used,

1. *Cities and Industries* etc., chap. IV.

2. *Ibid.*, 285.

3. Khwafi Khan, I, 199, 200.

4. *Urbanisation* etc., 51.

because they neither figure in the list of woollen goods on sale in Agra¹ nor in the export consignments received at the imperial ports. The supply of raw wool was furnished locally, obtained from the sheep found on the hilly slope of the western range and in the desert tract of the east.

Sericulture did not flourish in Sind. Nevertheless, silken stuffs were fabricated from the yarn imported mainly from Persia.² More frequently the yarn was employed in admixtures of cotton and wool.³ Silk was also used for turning out embroidered and decorated stuffs beautifully done which were in great demand.⁴

Abundance of livestock in the country yielded a sizable volume of hides, which were used to make water bags,⁵ water buckets,⁶ jars to contain liquids,⁷ shields were made of buffalo.⁸ Highly tanned, treated and dressed leather was reserved for turning out a wide range of beautifully finished articles, such as shoes, counterpanes, cushions, prayer mats and so on; sometimes gold or silken threads were used for their ornamentation.⁹

The delicate plant of indigo was grown around Sehwan, after some minor processing its leaves yielded a blue dye.¹⁰ Though this dye was used for manifold purposes, it was chiefly employed for colouring the textile.¹¹ Easy availability of this indigenous colouring substance must have greatly accelerated the progress of the textile industry in the region.

Sugar making was common throughout the cultivable zones of the province.¹² It was primarily a rural industry but where facility existed, finishing touches were given in the nearby towns, yielding superior quality or refined sugar. In volume it was a surplus commodity so that the domestic consumption left a sizable balance for export. Poppy processed into opium was an article of slight weight.

1. A. A., I., 102.

2. Pelsaert, 32; Roe, 133, 354.

3. Pelsaert, 32.

4. Manrique, II.

5. Manrique, II., 241.

6. Babarnama, II., 487.

7. Bernier, 44 On.

8. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II., 344.

9. Manrique, II., 239.

10. *supra*.

11. *Cities and Industries* etc., 159-161.

12. *Op. Cit.*, 243-254, for a fuller study of sugar industry.

small bulk and high value. Its export, therefore, without being cumbersome was extremely lucrative. Amongst other miscellaneous crafts here boat building was well developed; 40,000, of them in all sizes could be procured in Abul Fazl's days.¹ Fancy woodwork was also turned out, which would certainly be a useful asset in attracting clients, but by itself it could hardly have been of any major significance.

Regarding means of communication principal highways over land routes are shown below as they ran from:-

Point of Origin and Terminus	Remark	Reference
Multan to Delhi	—	<i>Rehla</i> , 15, 16—24.
Multan to Lahore	much frequented	Manrique, II, 221—
Multan to Qandahar	—	Pelsaert, 13; Manrique, II., 247—59.
Thatta to Ahmadabad	infested by Baluchis	Withington, Foster, 22.
Nasrpur to Pattan	ran via Radhanpur	Masumi, 224.

Sources do not indicate that these highways were kept in repair or furnished with wayside arrangements for the comfort of weary travellers. Indeed, the few travel accounts before us reflect extreme insecurity,² exposure to climatic inclemencies, dearth of water and absence of authorised halting facilities en route. Thus the negligence in which these overland routes were maintained would lead us to infer that they were seldom followed, but if compelled by circumstances these could not be avoided, then they journeyed in caravans.³

Communication between Thatta and Qandahar was still less developed. There certainly must have existed some age old primitive tracks between most pairs of human agglomerations,⁴ but they stood in need of state action or at any rate human attention. Protected in this remote wilderness the highwaymen and marauders flourished, so that the element of danger and even hazards to life run by chance traveller was in no way to be under estimated.⁵

1. A. A., II., 339.

2. N. Withington, Foster, 225.

3. Masumi, 224; also see Manrique, II.

4. Manrique's travel account through this part of the country; II.

5. Ruq'at, 171-72

Though perhaps less barbaric, nevertheless ruthless ex-actors of unauthorised cesses infesting the area, further hindered the progress of the unfortunate travellers.¹ In this respect imperial orders repeatedly issued to remit all **en route** levies were often disregarded.²

For overland transportation camels were eminently well suited to the Sind terrain. While **Jamaza**, the she camel excelling in swiftness of speed, were used more frequently for personal conveyance⁴ other, each with a capacity of ten maunds of weight,⁵ served as load carriers. Thus loaded camel caravans starting from Thatta on their way to Multan passed through Nasrpur (Haiderabad), Rohri, Bhakkar, Shikarpur and Uch.⁶ Horses were employed, by and large, as a means of personal transport.⁷ Through the sandy and uneven **paths of Sind**, mules and donkeys,⁸ were also well fitted both as beasts of burden and for personal conveyance.⁹ Obviously these last two, mules and donkeys, would largely be used by lesser men. Finally, bullocks too were employed, on occasions, to transmit loads from place to place, specially by banjarahs.¹⁰

It were however, the riverine routes which bore the main burden of traffic in Sind.¹¹ River Indus along with its numerous streams at the delta was navigable¹² to shallow draught vessels.¹³ Flowing vertically, from north to south, Indus connected the province of Sind with Lahore and farther on, with Kashmir, in the north. Lahore is situated on the bank of river Ravi, a tributary of river Indus, and capable of carrying on a large trade in shallow draught vessels¹⁴ of sixty tons upwards.¹⁵ The southward town of Multan flourishing at a little distance from the confluence of Ravi and others with river Chenab, acted as a transit depot for goods moving up and down the river.¹⁶

The flow of traffic on the river both of the travellers and trader was continuous; imported goods and outgoing consignments were constantly moving to and fro.

1. *Urbanisation and Urban Centres*, etc., 70.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *A. A.*, I., 151
4. *Jauhar*, 68, 74; *Akbarnama*, III., 44, 62; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, II., 595; *Firishta*, II., 619.
5. *A. A.*, I., 151
6. *Todd*, 578.
7. *Masumi*, 175.
8. *A. A.*, I., 160.
9. *Jauhar*, 62., 69; *Masumi*, 231, 240.
10. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II., 233; *P. Mundy*, II, 95-6.
11. *A. A.*, II., 339.
12. *Roe*, 113.
13. *Pelsaert*, 31, *De Laet*, 51.
14. *Pelsaert*, 31;
15. *De Laet*, 51.
16. *Roe*, 440

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11. *A. A.*, II., 339.
12. Roe, 113.
13. Pelsaert, 31, De Laet, 51.
14. Pelsaert, 31;
15. De Laet, 51.
16. Roe, 440

By piecing together the available fragmentary data, we find that the Sind trade was being conducted on three distinct levels:-

Local: rural—urban, between pairs of villages and pairs of towns.

Intra regional: Sind and other provinces of the Imperial dominion.

Foreign trade: Maritime commerce along with the trade conducted over land routes.

Local traffic:- In connection with trade of his own products, the rural producer was required to deal with two sets of parties. One was the state or its agents who received from the cultivators its share (one third) of harvest yield as revenue assessment. It is not certain here whether the state dues were simply payable in kind or was to be converted in cash as regulated and implemented in other parts of the Empire.¹ The state would undoubtedly be required to bring the exacted volume of harvest to the (urban?) market in order to have it converted in cash. But sale by state was bound to be on its own terms, the less scrupulous agents could easily manipulate bargain favourable to themselves, specially so when it was being held so far away from the imperial vigil. Moreover, the procedure will also result in marking the tiller remain in the obscure village precincts; he will be deprived of the opportunity of acquiring the stimulating experience of regular visits to urban markets. On the other hand, monetisation of revenue assessment, as demonstrated elsewhere,² used to create a very different environment, amongst others, of brisk business activity starting from the rural-urban markets and ending up at the exit points of the Empire.³ Had it (monetisation of state revenue dues) been enforced in Sind too, it could not have allowed a hitherto busy port of Lahri to languish, as attested to by writers of a few decades later,⁴ without making any alternative arrangement in the meantime. It was only in the middle of seventeenth century that Aurangzeb as the Governor-Prince of Tatta unsuccessfully tried to build another port on the coast.⁵

1. A. A., II., 68; *Urban Centres and Industries*, etc., 280-81.

2. *Urban Centres and Industries*, etc., 280-81.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Pelsaert, 32; *Ruq'at*, 174.

5. *Ruq'at*, 174.

The other-party with which the tiller entered into transaction was the urban consumers. The villagers disposed of their surplus products in the urban markets, either directly to the urban dealers or transacting with the latter through the brokers, in any case the goods were eventually retailed to the consumers. The villager receiving payment in cash for the goods delivered, was able to carry home some of the urban manufactures, such as varieties of textiles, shoes or metalware, depending on his standard and requirements. But his main investment would presumably be in land or its adjuncts, such as livestock, tools for ploughing or better quality seeds. Thus while the rural products travelled to towns, the proceeds of those products together with certain amount of urban manufactures penetrated the rural settlements. In the event of any excess in the supply or rural non-perishable commodities reaching the towns, it was usually possible for one urban market to forward the surplus volume to a deficit area, regardless of the distance involved.

Intra regional and foreign trade of Sind has been covered in considerable length in **Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Great Mughals**, chapter, IV. However in the following table a very of the towns brief survey handling the best part, of the commercial activities of Sind has been sketched:—

Towns	Origin	Location	Trade	Remarks
Multan	ancient	due south east of the confluence of r. Ravi with r. Indus.	1) transit depot for goods passing through r. Indus between Thatta and Lahiri Bunder at one end and Lahore and Kashmir at the other end. ¹ 2) Terminal for traffic with Qandahar. ²	the chief town of the area; had a large and strong fort, ³ well paved and fair streets within the town. ⁴ Tombs of saints ⁵ lent religious sanctity to the town.

1. Pelsaert, 31.

2. Ibid.

3. A. A., II., 330.

4. Finch, Foster, 161.

5. A. A., II., 330.

Bhakkar	earlier called Mansura founded by Mohd. bin Qasim ¹	on the bank of river Indus.	1) transit depot and halting station for traffic through Indus.	A regular custom house was established after the resumption of Qandahar trade. ³
Sehwan	ancient	on the right bank of r. Indus ⁴	exported to Thatta, dairy products, indigo and cotton goods. ⁵	2) transit depot for ption of Qandahar trade. ³
Thatta ⁶	ancient; revived in 1565, A. D.	west bank of r. Indus	emporium for goods arriving or departing from Lahiri Bunder	chief town, furnished with all the necessary adjuncts of a busy town.
Lahiri Bunder ⁷	founded after the decline of Debul (c. 1100 A. D. ?)	port, on the coast	handled all maritime commerce, foreign and coastal,	inconsiderable town; got busy on the arrival of ships.

1. A. A., II., 330.

2. Manrique, II.

3. Ibid.

4. Akbarnama, III., 918; Khulasat, 70.

5. E. F., 1634-1636

6. Urbanisation and Urban Centres, etc., 86-88.

7. Ibid. 81-86.

1. A. A., II., 68; Urban Centres and Industries, etc., 280-81.

2. Ibid. 280-81.

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